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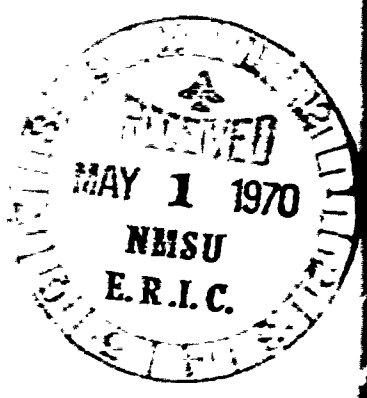
ABSTRACT

Wilmington, Delaware, a medium-sized industrial center in the eastern United States, was the site for this study of migration. The report presents some of the major ideas, hypotheses, and findings of a study on recruitment, movement, and assimilation of migrants into Wilmington. Data for the study were obtained from the 1960 census figures and from responses to a questionnaire administered to 311 heads of households with children in 1 of 5 public elementary schools in the city. The specific purposes of this report were (1) to discuss some theoretical problems in the analysis of migration, (2) to describe the course of migration to Wilmington in recent years, (3) to present the rationale and methods of the study, and (4) to offer a reasoned commentary of some of the study's findings. The most persistent finding of the study was the importance of work as a reason for mobility or stability. (DK)



MIGRATION TO AN AMERICAN CITY

Charles Tilly

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Charles Tilly

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Migration To An American City

By

Charles Tilly1/

Almost all social changes of any significance move people from place to place. Almost all movements of people from place to place call for changes, temporary or permanent, in their relations to other people. We do not need to know any more than that to understand why migration fascinates students of social organization. Consider some well-known statistics concerning the United States (see Bogue 1959, chapter 15)2/: 1) decade after decade for more than a century, a solid third of the total population of the average state has consisted of people born somewhere else; 2) in any given year, about a fifth of the population changes residence; 3) year after year, about a third of the people changing residence actually move from one community to another; 4) in 1960, around ten percent of the population of the average state were people who had lived outside the state in 1955. In such a nation, mobility is hard to ignore.

This report does not by any means come to grips with all the varied forms of population mobility. It deals almost exclusively with migration — more narrowly, change in the community of residence — and with only some limited aspects of migration, at that. It presents some of the major ideas, hypotheses and findings of a study of the recruitment, movement and assimilation of migrants to Wilmington, Delaware, a medium-sized industrial center in the eastern United States.

The study deals especially with these questions: 1) How does the social status of migrants to cities and their previous contact with urban life affect the way they organize their moves, or the way their moves are organized for them? 2) How do status and previous urban contact affect the transfer of behavior or social relations from the old community to the new one? 3) How do all of these conditions influence the later participation of migrants in the life of the city?

Later reports of the research will take up with greater detail individual aspects of migration which this one discusses quite summarily. They will not, however, repeat the statistical observations on the general character of migration to Wilmington, or the review of previous sociological thinking on migration and related problems. This report will therefore serve several purposes: 1) to discuss some theoretical problems in the analysis of migration, 2) to describe the course of migration to Wilmington in recent years, 3) to present the rationale and method of the study, 4) to offer a reasoned commentary of some of the study's findings on the recruitment, movement and assimilation of migrants to Wilmington.

TRANSFER AT MIGRATION

Any migration logically involves at least four units: a sending unit, a receiving unit, a migrating unit, and a larger structure to which the others belong. The scope and character of the sending, receiving, migrating and encompassing units vary considerably from one case to another. A young man (migrating unit) moving from San Francisco (sending unit) to Chicago (receiving unit), within American society (larger structure) obviously fits, but so do the movement of a Negro family from the South to the North, the transfer of an army company from its base in Texas to a new one in Berlin, or the exodus of an entire national minority from Poland to Western Europe.

Migration normally introduces changes, subtle or sweeping, into the structures of all four of the units we have distinguished (cf. Sorokin 1959, esp. chapter 16). Every act of migration, quite evidently, changes the size and composition of the population in both the sending and receiving group and the distribution of population within the larger unit. In fact, when the subdivisions of a society grow or decline rapidly, migration (rather than fluctuation in births or deaths) is usually the explanation. Migration changes more than sheer numbers. In addition to obviously affecting the life of the migrating unit itself and changing the distribution of resources within the larger structure, migration calls forth adjustments in the social organization of sending and receiving areas, poses problems of dissimilation and assimilation, even when the individuals on the move make the transition with ease and joy.

These exceedingly general observations imply that the analysis of migration is a strategic way of studying the forces that hold a community together, and those that pull it apart. As Meier (1962:28) puts it, the experience of new migrants gives us a chance to investigate the "civic bond." These observations also imply that the character of assimilation and dissimilation vary strongly with the structures of the sending and receiving units, and with the nature of the migrating units.

Suppose we narrow our attention to migration to cities,

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2/ Citations in this form refer to the list of references at the end of this report.

or to a particular city. We thus neglect dissimilation, the determinants of the volume and direction of migration, its selectivity at the point of origin, and a host of other interesting problems. And we restrict the meaning of migration to one kind of change in the community of residence. We must still allow for substantial variation in the process of assimilation, depending on a) the character of the sending community, b) the character of the receiving city, c) the character of the migrants themselves. On the other hand, we must recognize that in fixing our attention on cities we are choosing communities whose new arrivals often bring with them a considerable body of easily transferable experience. This is because, at least in an urban society, so many of the migrants come from other cities, which share with the destination a great many features of organization and form, and because cities are the centers of precisely those norms, activities and networks of social relations that spread most widely throughout the society. Despite common assumptions to the contrary, the assimilation of migrants to cities in an urban society rarely resembles the wrenching total socialization of infants or barbarians. In short, if we wish to estimate the extent and type of readjustment in both the receiving community and the migrant group that any particular type of migration to a city will occasion, we may well begin by identifying the origin and the characteristics of the migrating group, and thereby judge the amount and kind of transfer of skill, status and membership it will make at migration.

Occupational rank provides some crucial illustrations of this point. (Here, it hardly matters whether rank means power, wealth, pure prestige, or some amalgam of the three.) On the whole, the higher the rank of an occupation, the more likely that its migrating holder will bring with him memberships in a variety of national associations, that he will have a status which will mean something to a wide variety of people, and that he will already have accumulated a variety of skills in dealing with the characteristic bureaucracies, markets of systems of communication of any city (cf. Illsley and others 1963). On the other hand, the low-ranking migrant whose move utterly interrupts his occupational life, who arrives illiterate and with little knowledge of bureaucrats, subways, department stores or traffic laws. often transfers active membership in such "ascriptive solidarities" (the useful if ponderous term is Talcott Parsons') as kin groups, ethnic subgroups, or networks of individuals from the same country town.3/ In underdeveloped societies, a large proportion of migrants to cities bring little skill or advance knowledge of urban life with them, but transfer membership in particular tribes or local groups which give them an immediate place in their metropolitan enclaves (Abu-Lughod 1961, Mitchell 1956, Morrill 1963, Pearse 1961). Overseas migrants to the United States often came ill prepared for urban occupations, but well established in groups of kin or former neighbors (Handlin 1951, M. Jones 1960, Thomas and Znaniecki 1927). In the case of recent migration to northern industrial cities in the United States, groups coming from the rural South have often had to begin in jobs demanding little skill and giving little reward, but have immediately found themselves surrounded by kinfolk and compatriots (Beynon 1938, Blumberg 1958, Killian 1953, Rose and Warshay 1957). The whole phenomenon of chain migration, in which a significant part of an entire population moves bit by bit between two widely separated locations, constantly linked by an informal chain of communications (see Price 1959, MacDonald and MacDonald 1946), occurs mainly within ascriptive solidarities. On the other hand, middle-class movers into residential suburbs rarely transfer strong memberships in ascriptive solidarities, but very often carry with them skills in social interaction and occupational identities that give them an immediate place in the life of the community (Gans 1963, Gutman 1963, with negative aspects discussed in Thoma and Lindemann 1961). These differences in the amount and kind of transfer at migration mean great differences in the initial experience of the migrant in the city, and in his subsequent assimilation.

Even the crudest statistics of migration to American cities suggest how much new arrivals vary in regard to transferable skill, status and membership. Of course, it is true that the mass movements of Europeans, many of them peasants, into large American industrial centers created some of the most dramatic features of nineteenth-century urban growth. And it is true that during this century, especially after the restriction of immigration following World War I, the movement of people from the American countryside has accounted for a very large part of the total growth of urban areas. This much might persuade us that most migration to American cities has brought in groups ill prepared for urban life. But that reasoning, among its other faults, neglects the distinction between the net movement of population into or out of an area, and the gross movement in and out (cf. Goldstein 1958). During the period 1935-40 American urban places were gaining population, and rural areas were losing it. Such a combination brings

3/ This rough distinction of membership in ascriptive solidarities from participation in structures wider than any particular locality shares a good deal with the useful distinction between "cosmopolitan" and "local" roles (Greer and Orleans 1962, Gouldner 1957 and 1958, Hughes 1955, Merton 1957: 387-420, Redfield 1956, Sykes 1951, Wolf 1956), as well as with the venerable contrasts between Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft, mechanistic and organic, primary and secondary, that lie behind it. The most serious attempt so far to develop a sociological theory of differential migration (Beshers and Nishiura 1961) relies on a similar distinction. Cosmopolitans are on the whole more mobile than locals; it would be interesting to investigate how many of the differences between the two social types these varied authors have discussed result from the fact or the possibility of mobility.

to mind the idea of a mass movement from farms to cities. Yet during that same period more than half of all internal migration originated in urban places, and almost two-thirds of all migrants to urban areas came from other urban areas. So far as sociological commentaries on the "problems" of migration were concerned, these two-thirds slipped into American cities almost undetected. To choose another telling statistic, almost a quarter of all the men employed in 1950 who had made a big move from one state economic area to another in the previous year were managers or professionals. A good proportion of migration to American cities consists of the movement of educated urbanites in skilled occupations. Even the migrants born in rural areas, or moving directly from them, vary enormously in preparation for life in the city.

Although they have certainly not ignored this variation among different types of rural migrants, students of migration have also discovered systematic differences among migrants to cities depending on the urbanity of their origins. A number of important population characteristics vary regularly with the size of the place (Duncan 1957, Duncan and Reiss 1956). This means that even if migration took a random sample of the population of each type of community, the similarity of migrant groups to the receiving populations in large cities would tend to rise with the urbanity of the communities they came from. A number of studies dealing with a variety of characteristics have reported a correlation between the urbanity of a migrant group's background and its similarity to the receiving population (e.g. Beers and Heflin 1944, Freedman 1950, Freedman and Freedman 1956, Lipset 1955, Zimmer 1956, cf. Beijer 1963).

In summary, migrants vary a great deal in how much and what kind of previous experience or social position they transfer when they move. Two of the most significant factors affecting the amount and the nature of that transfer are rank and urban experience.

AUSPICES

These factors also affect the social organization of migration itself. To see this clearly, we may ask under what auspices different groups migrate. Before he moves, what social structure establishes the relationship between the migrant and the new community? Is it the labor market, a particular firm, the state, his kin group, or something else?

In the American case, the distinction between the auspices related to work and all other auspices -- which is, of course, not an absolute distinction, but rather one of priority -- is the most important. Sometimes we assume th[illegible]l migration is "essentially economic," a way of respo[illegible]ng to job opportunities. This assumption is hard to challenge, because so many people do move in response to new job opportunities, and because most changes of location call for some kind of change in work, even if the "basic" motive for migrating is something else. But those students of migration who have examined its international variations, and have therefore noticed the expulsion of national minorities, flight from conquerors, and escape from natural catastrophes, commonly restrict the importance of job opportunities to "free" migration, and to movement within a single labor market, however broadly defined (see Numelin 1936, Peterson 1958, B. Thomas 1954). Furthermore, Freedman and Hawley (1949a, 1949b) have shown that even where economic need gives a strong impulse to migration, the net result of the move is by no means automatically the improvement of the migrant's economic position.

The main alternatives to sturctures directly related to work are various kinds of ascriptive solidarities. Although their efforts have somehow left little trace in general theories of migration, a variety of observers have prepared rich accounts of the part ascriptive solidarities play in some streams of migration (Eisenstadt 1951, Killian 1953, Mayer 1962, Morse 1962, Rubin 1960). More general analyses of chain migration have also brought out the frequent importance of this sort of sponsorship (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964). Such studies give the impression that the more specific the job opportunity at the destination, the less frequently migration occurs under the auspices of ascriptive solidarities, even if there is no logical necessity for one to exclude the other4/. They therefore justify a tentative classification of streams of migration according to whether their auspices are predominantly: a) work-related structures, b) ascriptive solidarities, c) others, including -- as a logical but improbable extreme -- none.

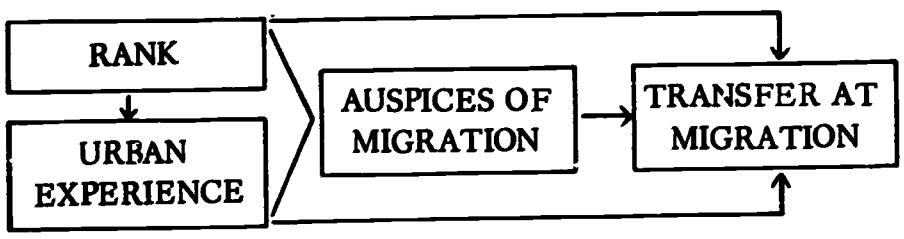
Although no one has stated the problem in quite this way, previous analyses of migration offer some guidance as to what regularities in the auspices of migration one might expect to find. On the whole, the proportion of migration to cities under work-related auspices probably rises with rank and secondarily with the urbanity of the migrating group's previous experience. These expectations follow from a) the general increase in the possession of valued and transferable skills, involvement in pervasive systems of communication, and implication in careers calling for sequences of simultaneous changes of job and location, with rise in rank, and b) the association between urban experience and involvement in extensive labor markets. On the whole, the proportion of migration under the auspices of ascriptive solidarities probably declines with rank and with the similarity of communities of origin and

4/ The most serious qualifications come from recent studies emphasizing the importance of kinfolk in the social lives and mobility of middleclass Americans (see Litwak 1960a and 1960b, Sussman and Burchinal 1962a and 1962b).

destination, for related reasons. However, the relationship between rank and migration via ascriptive solidarities could also be curvilinear -- high at both extremes -- because of the extent and territorial dispersion of high-ranking kinship groups, and the intertwining of relations of work, friendship and kinship in groups of high rank. It is hard to state the conditions for so shapeless a category as "other auspices," except to propose that these types of migration may be more common among groups with extensive urban experience, which have accumulated some general skill in dealing with the city's institutions; retiring couples, vagabonds, criminals evading arrest, students and political refugees are examples.

These reflections suggest some further ideas about the amount and kind of transfer at migration. Perhaps I could sum up the earlier discussion of transfer in the following way: general skill in dealing with urban institutions rises with rank and with urbanity of origins; so does the transfer of statuses in pervasive formal structures; so does the transfer of membership in particular associations; the effective transfer of membership in ascriptive solidarities declines with rank and with urbanity of origin. Now it seems reasonable to add that the auspices of migration have parallel but partly independent effects. They can weaken or strengthen the relationships. That is, at a given rank those who migrate under work-related auspices more frequently transfer general skill, pervasive statuses, membership in associations, and less frequently transfer membership in ascriptive solidarities, than others at the same rank. There are several unpleasant ambiguities in the hypothesis as stated, and a certain amount of circularity when it comes to treating the relationship between migration under the auspices of ascriptive solidarities and transfer of membership in such groups, but at least it offers some interesting guidance for further investigation.

A simple diagram will present the elements (the boxes) and relationships (the arrows) discussed so far:



The diagram has the advantage of making clear at a glance that there are at least two important elements missing from the scheme: some representation of the effects on the receiving community, and some treatment of the behavior of the migrating group after migration. These two constitute the problem of assimilation.

ASSIMILATION

Of all the subdivisions of the analysis of migration, the study of assimilation has produced the greatest terminological confusion. Overlapping terms like integration, assimilation, enculturation, acculturation, absorption, amalgamation and adjustment are constantly contending for recognition, and inconstantly changing their meanings (Horobin 1957, F. Jones 1956, Roy 1962, SSRC Seminar 1954). Most likely the confusion will continue until some standard ways of measuring various changes associated with migration gain wide acceptance; that has been the course of events elsewhere in demography. In the meantime, it may be pertinent to point out how much of the confusion has come from unnoticed variation in the unit of analysis and in the span of time under consideration.

Since migration inevitably produces changes in sending, receiving, migrating and encompassing units all at once, its students have unsurprisingly paid attention to all of them at one time or another. In particular, analysts of assimilation have spent their greatest efforts on changes in the receiving and migrating units,, without always distinguishing very clearly which they were doing. Furthermore, their definitions of these two units have ranged in scope from a single individual up to an entire population or a complete social structure. And the time span under consideration has sometimes been the period before and after the migration in question, sometimes the period of the movement itself, and sometimes the period beginning with arrival in the receiving unit. The word "adjustment" has appeared most often in studies dealing with migrating units, units small in scope like individuals or nuclear families, in terms of behavioral changes during a relatively short period from the beginning of the movement to shortly after its completion (e.g. Brandao Lopes 1961, Omari 1957, Smith 1953). Acculturation, on the other hand, ordinarily implies a broad definition of the migrating and receiving units, refers to a fairly long span of time from the initial point of contact between the units, and permits attention to changes in the cultural traits of both units resulting from their contact (e.g. Humphrey 1944, Roy 1962, Shuval 1963, SSRC Seminar 1954). The rarer term "absorption" draws attention to changes in the organization of the receiving unit, "amalgamation" refers especially to intermarriage, while "integration" points up the establishment of social relations between members of migrating and receiving unit, "amalgamation" refers especially to intermarriage, while "integration" points up the establishment of social relations between members of migrating and receiving units. And assimilation, etymologically and methodologically, applies most directly to the process by which a migrating unit becomes more similar to a receiving unit, over a long span of time after migration (e.g. Bunle 1950, Horobin 1957, Lieberson 1963, Myers 1950): the most important variations in the use of the term have been due to variations in the scope of the migrating unit (individual, family, cohort, entire national minority) considered.

Let us restrict our attention to assimilation. That sensible restriction does not eliminate all the conceptual problems. Two of them are very serious: a) how to define the "receiving" population when, as is usual in migration to cities, both the migrants and the population of the re-

ceiving community are highly heterogeneous and constantly changing, and b) how to allow for the fact that changes in different aspects of the migrating group's behavior and characteristics need not occur together. Most investigators have dealt with these complexities by some combination of the following procedures: a) defining some large part of the receiving population as nonmigrant, and using their characteristics at the time of the study as the criteria of assimilation; b) concentrating on a very small number of widely applicable minimum indicators of assimilation; c) constructing an *a priori* a model of the assimilated group, and measuring the approach of any particular group of migrants to that model, and d) abandoning the study of assimilation in the strict sense for the investigation of certain changes after migration, whether they bring the migrating group closer to the target or not.

None of these procedures is, of course, wholly satisfactory. In the conspicuous absence of a decent theory of the "civic bond" in communities of diverse and changing population and in the presence of the suspicion that assimilation covers a number of somewhat independent changes, there is little choice but to investigate changes in a variety of characteristics of migrating groups, without any firm conviction that only transformations in the direction of the average of the receiving population qualify as assimilation, or that "complete assimilation" occurs with the disappearance of all differences between the migrating unit and some average conception of the receiving population at a single point in time.

TRANSFER AND ASSIMILATION

We are not forced back to sheer empiricism, however The earlier discussion of transfer at migration suggests some ways of breaking down the analysis of assimilation. First we can distinguish among relatively impersonal and relatively personal spheres of behavior in the city -- work, response to mass communication, participation in markets, contact with bureaucracies vs. friendship, neighboring, family life, contact with kinfolk. Migrants can bring with them statuses approximately establishing their relationship to any of these spheres. The impersonal spheres permit a good deal of transfer of generalized skills (for example, in the manipulation of bureaucracies), but not so much transfer of particular memberships. Participation in the personal spheres does not depend so much on generalized skills (although ways of making friends and styles of neighboring are certainly learned products of previous experience), while it does permit a considerable transfer of particular memberships.

To be sure, the sharp separation of personal from impersonal spheres of participation may redouble the unfortunate temptation to consider them as independent or even antagonistic. In fact, they flow into one another unceasingly. Litwak (1961: esp. 270 cf. Gutman 1963), considering both a number of previous studies and interviews with recent migrants to suburbs of Buffalo, argues that participation in voluntary associations is for a significant part of the population a means of finding friends and developing attachments to the neighborhood. Another group of scholars, turning away from the venerable tradition that portrayed the substitution of formal, special purpose organizations for the whole, primary, personal relations of folk life as an essential consequence of the growth of an urban society (e.g. Spengler 1926-28, vol. II; Redfield 1947; Wirth 1938; Goldhamer 1947), has recently developed a model of that same society in which primary groups and smaller scale formal associations, on the one hand, and the major structures unifying the entire community or even the entire society, on the other, overlap and reinforce each other (e.g. Greer 1962, Kornhauser 1959, Lipset 1960).

This revision of the traditional theory is quite persuasive. It draws the sociologist's attention to the interaction, rather than the mutual exclusion, of personal and impersonal spheres of participation. At the same time, it emphasizes the importance of variations in the ways they interact, and how much. Indeed, the revised model, by its very emphasis on the ways in which participation in intermediary groups affects people's values and attaches them to the larger community, carries with it the expectation that rank, exposure to urban life, and the initial conditions of recruitment to the community will all deeply influence the individual's participation in personal and impersonal spheres of interaction.

We might therefore expect all types of assimilation to be strongly affected by rank, prior urban experience, and the auspices of migration; but assimilation into impersonal and personal spheres should be affected in significantly different ways. The more generalized the skill, the less likely that high-ranking individuals from urban backgrounds will change significantly in that respect after migration -- the more likely that they are already "assimilated" in that respect. The more local or particular the membership, the more change we ought to find in the behavior of such individuals after migration. Whether the inverse ought to be true of personal spheres of behavior is an intriguing and more complicated question, which deserves to be left open for the moment.

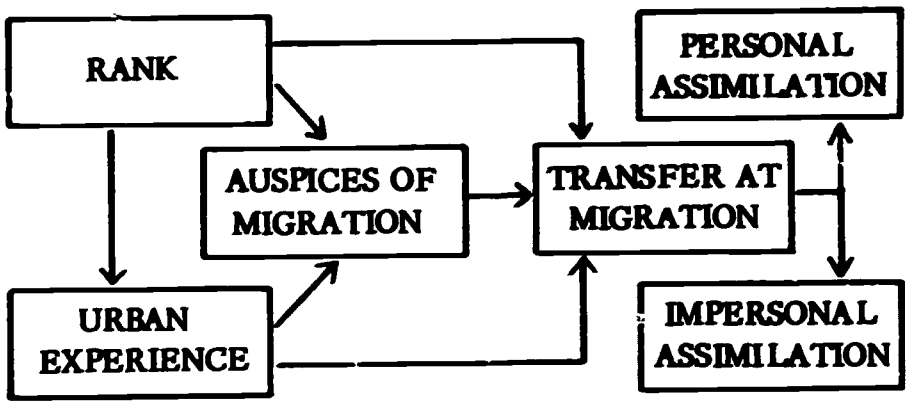
Let us turn these relationships around. If there is something to this set of ideas about transfer at migration, when considering impersonal spheres of behavior we might expect to find greater changes in behavior after migration, a longer period of change, and lower average levels of skill, a) among rural migrants than among urban migrants, b) among low-ranking groups than among high-ranking groups, and c) among migrants under nonwork auspices than among migrants under the auspices of work. Some such rural-urban difference has appeared in a number of previous studies (Beers and Heflin 1944, Freedman and

Freedman 1956, Jyrkila 1958, Lipset 1955, Martin 1952, Zimmer 1955, with some contrary evidence in Turner 1949 and a strong dissent in Shannon 1961). The differences by rank have not shown up so often, largely because so few investigators have troubled to compare changes after migration in groups differing in rank (see Freeman, Novak and Reeder 1957, Litwak 1961, Sharp 1954, Zimmer 1955, with demurrers in Wright and Hyman 1958). The comparison by auspices of migration has not come up in those terms, but several researchers have concluded that when migrants easily move into ascriptive solidarities (such as ethnic minorities, tribal outposts or groups from the same village) at the destination, their capacity to deal with the city's impersonal institutions develops very slowly (Abu-Lughod 1961, Handlin 1951, chapters 6 and 7, Rose and Warshay 1957). In such circumstances, skilled members of the ascriptive solidarities commonly mediate between the migrants and the impersonal institutions; their expertise substitutes for the skill the migrants lack, links the subgroups to the city, and diminishes the pressure for change in individual behavior.

It is possible, then, to shape some fairly consistent and plausible hypotheses about assimilation into impersonal spheres of behavior in the city. What about personal spheres? The various activities and relationships under this heading -- friendship, kinship, neighboring, and so on -- form such a miscellany that they may quite possibly follow no general rules. Two distinct and opposing factors may well cancel out the differences among groups that our usual crude measures of these behaviors are suited to detect: the retention of memberships in groups of neighbors, friends, kinfolk and the like, vs. the ready establishment of new contacts with kinfolk, friends and neighbors. Yet we know that the forms and intensities of these social relations in cities vary significantly with the ranks of the individuals considered, and have some reason to believe those social relations also vary importantly with the individuals' origins and the time they have been in the community (Axelrod 1956, Fellin and Litwak 1963, Greer 1962, chapters 3 and 4, Gulick and Bowerman 1961, sections 6-8, Litwak 1960c, Sharp 1954). All things considered, the best hypotheses seem to be that 1) the higher the rank, the more urban the origin, and the more closely related to work the auspices of migration of a group to the city, the more rapidly the group will establish new friendships and neighborly relations, and 2) the lower the rank, the more rural the origin, and the more closely related to ascriptive solidarities the auspices of migration, the more rapidly the group will establish active relationships within ascriptive solidarities, and the larger the share of all their personal relationships that will be concentrated in ascriptive solidarities.

This statement completes the general hypotheses to be examined. As the reader will recall, there are three clusters of them. The first deals with the effect of rank and urbanity of origins on the amount and kind of transfer of status, membership and experience which different groups make on migration to a city. The second assigns similar but independent effects to the auspices under which migration occurs. The third cluster of hypotheses consists of expectations concerning impersonal and personal assimilation, as they depend on the rank, urbanity, and auspices of migration of the group in question.

We can now augment the diagram of the elements and relationships to be analyzed in the following way:



Of course, there are further distinctions to be made, and the arrows hardly reveal the content of the hypotheses, but the diagram conveniently summarizes what factors we have considered, and what factors we have neglected.

If there is anything to these hypotheses about assimilation to impersonal and personal spheres of behavior, they cast some doubt on the common sense assumption that voluminous migration necessarily disrupts severely the migrating and receiving units. Considering the popularity of that assumption, the available evidence is remarkably rare, indirect and contradictory (e.g. Angell 1951, Blumberg and Bell 1959, Chevalier 1958, Cohn 1957, chapter 1, Fellin and Litwak 1963, Lee 1963, Litwak 1960c, Savitz 1960). Instead of trusting to common sense, therefore, we might do well to treat disruption as a possibility rather than a certainty, and then seek to specify the conditions under which it actually occurs. The preceding discussion suggests that the extent and kind of disruption occasioned by migration to cities varies greatly with the rank, previous urban experience and auspices of migration of the migrating group. The whole process seems much more organized than harsh words like "uproot", "isolate" or "disrupt" imply. A society that finds mobility normal and necessary also finds means to cushion its consequences.

MIGRATION TO WILMINGTON, DELAWARE

We may evaluate these general ideas by applying them to the various kinds of migration to a single city. In this case, Wilmington, Delaware, is the city to be examined.

Wilmington is an eastern seaboard city not far south of Philadelphia. An industrial center since the establishment of mills along the Brandywine early in the nineteenth

century, the city is best known as a focus of the chemical industry and of corporate administration. After fluctuating around 110,000 from 1920 to 1950, Wilmington's population dropped to just under 96,000 in 1960, the year before the study reported here was done; meanwhile, the suburbs were growing rapidly, so that by 1960 the city gave its name to an Urbanized Area of some 285,000 people, and to a Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (New Castle County, Delaware, and Salem County, New Jersey) of about 365,000 people.

Migration has played a large part in changes in Wilmington's population. From the middle of the nineteenth century until World War I, migrants from England, Ireland and Germany, then from Italy, Poland, Greece and Russia flowed to the city; after that, Negroes from the American South came in greater numbers; at the same time, arrivals from elsewhere in the United States steadily increased. For the state as a whole, the proportion of the population born elsewhere rose from 30 percent in 1900 to 46 percent in 1960 (Tilly 1962: 14). Of the state's population five years of age or older in 1960, less than half had lived in Delaware since birth, and a fifth had still been living outside the state in 1955 (1960 Census of Population, PC (2) 2D). The city of Wilmington itself had an estimated net loss of 25,000 persons through migration from 1950 to 1960 (balanced against a net gain through natural increase of 10,000), but even so more than 8 percent of its 1960 population had arrived from somewhere else since 1955 (Tilly 1962: 11-13). After World War II, there was an increasing tendency for white migrants, and those high in education, income and occupational rank, to move into the suburbs rather than the city of Wilmington itself. Largely as a result of migration, the nonwhite proportion of the city's population rose from 11 percent in 1930 to 26 percent in 1960 (especially from 1950 on), while the proportion in the remainder of New Castle County declined from a similar 11 percent to only 5 percent (Tilly 1962: 17). Migration has obviously made a great deal of difference in Wilmington.

Table 1: Place of Birth of Delaware Residents in 1950 and 1960.

	1950			1960		
Place of Birth	White	Nonwhite	Total	White	Nonwhite	Total
	Percent					
Delaware	61.6	60.6	61.5	53.9	57.0	54.3
Maryland	7.7	12.3	8.3	6.2	8.2	6.5
Other South Atlantic [a]	3.9	18.8	5.9	5.7	17.5	7.3
Pennsylvania	10.8	2.8	9.7	12.4	2.7	11.0
New York New Jersey	4.8	1.5	4.3	5.7	1.4	5.1
Other States [b]	5.6	2.5	5.3	9.5	4.3	8.8
U.S., State Not Reported	0.7	1.5	0.8	3.0	8.4	3.7
Foreign Born	4.8	0.2	4.1	3.7	0.6	3.3
Total	99.9	100.2	99.9	100.1	100.1	100.0
Number	272,051	43,720	315,735	384,108	62,184	446,292

a. District of Columbia, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida.

b. Includes Puerto Rico, Born Outside U.S. of U.S. Parents.

Sources: U.S. Census of Population, 1950, vol. 4, Special Reports, 4A: State of Birth, tables 14-17; U.S. Census of Population, 1960, vol. 2, Subject Reports, 2A: State of Birth, tables 19-22.

Two streams of migration from elsewhere in the United States have long fed the city's population. Migration from the North has commonly brought in whites, individuals with considerable occupational skills, people from cities. Migration from the South has much more often brought in Negroes, individuals with little skill in urban occupations, people from farms and small towns. Let us remember that these are average, and not absolute, differences: There are some whites with little occupational skill migrating from the rural South, and some highly skilled nonwhites from northern cities; in fact, a number of the rural-born southern nonwhites lived in cities at some time before coming to Wilmington.

Table 1 displays the differences in region of origin by color for the state of Delaware. When comparing the figures for 1950 and 1960, we find a noticeable decline in the share of the total population born in Delaware. And we find a general increase in the proportion coming from the North, and from distant parts of the United States. The drawing range of Wilmington has been expanding in recent years.

Although neither the 1950 nor the 1960 figures showed any real differences between whites and nonwhites in the proportion born in Delaware itself, from 75 to 80 percent of all nonwhites reporting birthplaces outside the state came from the South Atlantic area, while among whites only about 30 percent had come from the South Atlantic.

Information on places of birth, however, does not give a very reliable picture of recent migration. Table 2 locates the 1960 population of the Wilmington metropolitan area five years before, in 1955. Half the population were in the same house in 1960 as in 1955, and another third somewhere else in the Wilmington area. Of the remaining sixth of the population, a few were elsewhere in Delaware, considerably more in the adjacent states of Maryland, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, another substantial number in the remaining states of the South Atlantic region, and the rest (about a quarter of all those living outside Delaware in 1955) scattered through other, more distant, areas. Considering that the information on place of birth represents Delaware as a whole, while these observations on residence in 1955 are for the Wilmington metropolitan area, the two

Table 2: Residence in 1955 of 1960 Residents of Wilmington SMSA Five Years Old and Over.

Residence in 1955	Number	Percent
Same house	161,210	50.0
Elsewhere in Same S.M.S.A.	105,437	32.8
Elsewhere in Delaware	2,697	0.8
Maryland	3,966	1.2
Other South Atlantic (D.C., Va., W.Va., N.C., S.C., Ga., and Fla.)	7,416	2.3
Pennsylvania	13,094	4.2
New Jersey[a/]	5,851	1.8
New York	2,882	0.9
Other States	10,304	3.2
Abroad in 1955	2,330	0.7
Not reported	6,622	2.1
	321,809	100.0

a/ Outside of Salem County, which belongs to the Wilmington SMSA.

Source: Unpublished tabulation of 1960 Census of Population.

sorts of data coincide remarkably. They agree that nearby Middle Atlantic states send the largest number of migrants to the Wilmington area, with the South Atlantic states a sizeable second. The great stream of migration that runs along the east coast's main channels of communication pours migrants into Delaware from both directions.

Northern and southern migrants to Wilmington from 1955 to 1960 differed greatly in the kinds of communities they came from, as Table 3 suggests. About 43 percent of all persons in the Wilmington metropolitan area reporting they lived outside the area in 1955 had been in other metropolitan areas. Table 3 enumerates the first ten in the order of their contribution to Wilmington. Only three of the first ten, with only three percent of all the migrants, were in the South. Four metropolitan areas, with about 28 percent of the total, were in nearby Middle Atlantic states; of course, the contiguous Philadelphia metropolitan area dominated this total. The other three, with roughly five percent, were elsewhere in the Northeast. A very large proportion of all the migrants from big cities, that is, came from the Northeast, and a very large proportion of all the migrants from the Northeast came from big cities. To be sure, no one who considers how large a proportion of the total population of the Northeast is in great metropolises is likely to be astounded by this discovery. But it accentuates the differences between the two major streams of migration to the Wilmington area. From the South came more individuals from small towns, more Negroes, more people with little education and little experience in urban occupations; from the North, more individuals from large cities or their suburbs, more whites, more highly skilled and educated persons.

Table 3: Metropolitan Residence in 1955 of Wilmington Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area, Five and Over Who Reported 1955 Residence Elsewhere.

Place	Number	Percent
Philadelphia SMSA	10,663	22.0
Detroit SMSA	1,536	3.2
New York SMSA	1,475	3.0
Baltimore SMSA	928	1.9
Newark SMSA	832	1.7
Buffalo SMSA	533	1.1
Chicago SMSA	451	0.9
Boston SMSA	377	0.8
Norfolk-Portsmouth SMSA	311	0.6
Louisville SMSA	278	0.6
All other SMSAs	3,369	6.9
Nonmetropolitan, same state	3,786	7.8
Nonmetropolitan, contiguous state	5,441	11.2
All other	18,566	38.2
	48,540	99.9

Source: Unpublished tabulations of 1960 Census of Population.

The contrast by regions is only the beginning of the comparisons one ought to make in order to understand the diversity of migration to Wilmington. On the average, white migrants differ from nonwhite migrants, rural migrants differ from urban migrants, and migrants as a whole differ from the receiving population (see Freedman 1950, Tilly, Jackson, Kay 1965). A full discussion of these comparisons would divert this report from its purpose; the tables in Appendix A present some of the more interesting statistics on the subject. I shall only mention a few of their implications.

First of all, the age of migrants. As in almost all streams of migration, young people bulk very large among migrants to Wilmington (see Table A-1). (The fact that these data necessarily exclude all children under 5 in 1960 limits the comparisons we can make confidently.) Compared with the base population, the migrants have a very low proportion of old people, a relatively high proportion of children 5 to 14, and an extremely large number of persons from 15 to 29. Individuals who moved to the city from elsewhere in the Wilmington metropolitan area include the largest proportion of children, while those who came from nonmetropolitan areas include the largest concentration of young adults. On the whole, nonwhite migrants and long-distance migrants are the youngest categories.

The available information on household composition (Table A-2) complements these observations. On the whole, recent migrants in Wilmington in 1960 were more often in "irregular" households (which means no more than that the households were not composed of a single primary family) than were nonmigrants. Only 56 percent of those who had come from nonmetropolitan areas to Wilmington between 1955 and 1960, for example, were living with their own primary families in 1960. However, this contrast between migrants and nonmigrants really appears only among the whites; nonwhites who were in Wilmington in 1955 included many boarders, relatives outside the primary family, and individuals living alone. The difference between migrants from metropolitan and from nonmetropolitan areas may well reflect a greater tendency of the small-town and rural people to lodge temporarily with friends or relatives in the city. This would be consistent with the apparent prevalence of chain migration to Wilmington among groups from rural origins.

There are also significant differences in terms of education, occupation, and income (Tables A-3 to A-5). As in 1950 (see Tilly, Jackson, Kay 1965: 12-16), migrants in general are superior to the nonmigrant population in education and occupation. Migrants from other metropolitan areas are the most superior of all; the advantage of migrants from outside metropolitan areas is much more dubious. Furthermore, the superiority of the migrants is much less clear-cut in the nonwhite population than in the white (cf. Freedman 1950). To take the contrast at its extreme, about 60 percent of all the employed white males who had been in other metropolitan areas in 1955 were white-collar workers in 1960, compared with only 37 percent of the corresponding base population. A solid third of those metropolitan migrants were professional or semiprofessional workers. Migrants from metropolitan areas (according to tabulations not presented here) also had relatively few men not in the labor force, and even fewer unemployed. Obviously the migrants, particularly the migrants from other metropolitan areas, form a favored segment of the city's population.

The figures on income, it is true, do not fit neatly into this picture. The migrants, on the average, reported lower family incomes than the nonmigrants, and those who came from other metropolitan areas were lowest of all. Possibly the exclusion of individuals not living in families from these calculations affects the results. For the present, there is no sound way to dispel the doubt. Aside from this serious reservation, the data from the 1960 Census confirm the general superiority of the migrants to the receiving population in terms of commonly accepted signs of social status.

THE WILMINGTON STUDY

The volume and variety of recent migration to Wilmington make it an interesting locale for the study of migrants themselves. Concerned with the theoretical problems outlined in earlier pages of this report, a group at the University of Delaware undertook in 1960 an investigation of the recruitment, movement and assimilation of migrants to the city. After pretesting of the questionnaire and drawing of a sample, during the summer and early fall of 1961 a team of students interviewed the heads of 311 households with children in one of five public elementary schools in the city, using a standard questionnaire ordinarily taking from one to two hours to complete.

The sample was not meant to represent the general population of Wilmington. On the contrary, it was designed to yield sufficient cases for comparison in twelve categories of respondents, similar in some important respects, but varying significantly in occupation, color, and length of residence in the city; an initial attempt to sample by urbanity of birthplace proved impractical, both because the advance information on the place of birth of potential respondents was so sketchy, and because some combinations of occupation, color, length of residence and urbanity of birthplace are so rare in a city of 100,000. School records made it possible to classify heads of households tentatively in advance, by occupation, color, and length of residence. After examining characteristics of Census tracts and school enrollment figures, we intentionally chose four schools to maximize the range of parents according to the three sampling criteria. Later, after discovering that the four schools chosen were not yielding a sufficient number of certain categories of migrants, we added a fifth

Pooling the lists of pupils in all the schools, we then drew names randomly (according to a table of random numbers) and assigned them in order to the twelve categories created by cross-classifying:

1. White Collar / Blue Collar

2. White / Nonwhite

3. Native (in Wilmington continuously since before the age of 13) / Old Migrant (arrived in Wilmington before 1953) / Recent Migrant (arrived in Wilmington in 1953 or later).

The great shortage of nonwhite, white-collar migrants kept some of the quotas from being filled, while some quotas were unavoidably overfilled, and the surplus cases discarded.

A large proportion (roughly a quarter) of the recent blue-collar migrants in the pool proved impossible to find, even after inquiry with former neighbors, as well as review of school records, police lists and rolls of welfare agency. (This is like the experience of Blumberg, who used a similar method of locating respondents in Philadelphia; see Blumberg 1958.) The records represented all children enrolled at the beginning of April 1961, but most of the addresses were those given at registration the previous fall, and the interviewing continued until the beginning of the following October. Some potential respondents had therefore moved from their recorded addresses without leaving a trace, some had no doubt left the city by the time the interviewers searched for them, and some few probably evaded the interviewer on purpose. Of the 325 heads of households actually solicited, only 14 (4.3 percent) refused to be interviewed. White, white-collar heads of households refused to be interviewed more often than any other group. The final distribution of the 244 respondents remaining after the discarding of 67 surplus cases appears in Table 4. Among the 244 are 190 migrants to Wilmington and 54 natives.

The advantages of this sort of sample are 1) the production of subgroups comparable in age, sex, and position in household, and therefore 2) the maximization of the meaningful comparisons possible within a small sample. These very advantages, of course, mean that the sample is by no means an exact miniature of the city's total population, or of all migrants to the city. A few comparisons among the major subdivisions of the sample and the 1960 Census totals for the entire population of Wilmington will help introduce the sample, underline its special features, and attach it to its context.

THE SAMPLE AND THE GENERAL POPULATION

Remember that the sample consisted of heads of households with children in any of five public elementary schools. We might well expect such a sample to concen-

Table 4: Distribution of Respondents

Type of Respondent	White Collar		Blue Collar		
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	Total
Native	15	9	15	15	54
Old Urban	20	4	12	10	46
Old Rural	10	3	18	20	51
Recent Urban	20	2	8	12	42
Recent Rural	10	1	22	18	51
Total	75	19	75	75	244

NOTE: "Rural" applies to those migrants who spent the majority of their first eighteen years in the country (farm, non-farm or small town or village). "White collar" occupations are those classified as professional and technical workers, managers and proprietors or sales, clerical and kindred workers in the Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries; "blue collar", those classified as craftsmen and foremen, operatives, service workers and laborers. The classification refers to the last full-time job held by the head of household.

trate on people in their thirties, married persons, and primary families. This one does. It also includes persons with larger households, more education, and lower incomes than the general population. Table 5 presents these comparisons, and shows the variation from category to category within the sample.

In all major subdivisions of the sample, well over 80 percent of the heads of households were married and living with their spouses; for households containing primary families in Wilmington as a whole, the figure was only 78 percent. In the sample, broken families were more common among blue-collar workers than among white-collar workers, more common among rural migrants than among urban migrants, more common among migrants in the city at least eight years than among others, and more common among whites than among nonwhites. (See the more detailed breakdown of marital status in appendix table B-2). Since the frequencies of broken families are approximately the same for whites and nonwhites in the city as a whole, the sampling procedure apparently favored the inclusion of whole families among nonwhites more so than among whites. The other differences fit our general knowledge of family stability.

The sampling procedure also selected households larger than the general Wilmington average (as the second column of Table 5 indicates). It probably minimized the differences between major subdivisions of the sample, however; the average size is greater for blue-collar than for white-collar respondents, greater for nonwhite than for white, greater for natives than for migrants, but the differences are not very great. Except that we might have expected the migrant households to be somewhat larger or the native households somewhat smaller, these differences

Table 5: Selected Social Characteristics of Major Subdivisions of the Sample

Category	Percent of Heads of Household Married with Spouse Present (percent)	Median Number of Persons per Household (number)	Median School Years Completed by Heads of Households (years)	Median Family Income in Previous Years (dollars)
White Collar	91.5	4.8	15.0	6,325
Blue Collar	85.3	5.5	10.1	4,625
Natives	87.0	5.9	12.0	5,175
Migrants in Wilmington less than 8 years	91.8	5.5	11.2	5,350
Migrants in Wilmington 8 years of more	83.9	4.8	11.0	5,375
Urban Migrants	90.9	5.0	12.5	5,750
Rural Migrants	85.3	5.1	10.2	5,050
White	86.7	5.0	12.4	5,575
Nonwhite	89.4	5.6	10.5	4,750
Entire Sample	87.7	5.2	11.8	5,200
Total 1960 Population of Wilmington	77.5[a]	3.7[a]	9.9[b]	5,589

a. Households containing primary families

b. Total population 25 years old and over

hold no surprises for us.5/

We already know that migrants to Wilmington as a whole exceed the receiving population in educational level. The sample, too, is more highly educated on the average than the general population, but with the peculiarity that within the sample the natives have more education than the migrants. The heavy representation of persons from sections of the South with low educational levels most likely depressed the averages for the migrants. Otherwise, we find the white collar heads of households vastly superior to the blue collar heads, urban migrants higher than rural, whites averaging more education than nonwhites. As one might expect, more detailed tabulations not shown here reveal that allowing for the effects of varying occupational distributions greatly reduces the differences by origin and by color.

The figures for income are again something of a puzzle. Despite the greater education of their heads, the households in the sample reported lower incomes for 1960 than had the general population for 1959[6/]. Yet within the sample the migrants, lower in education than the natives, reported higher average incomes. White collar workers claimed much higher incomes than blue collar workers, white surpassed nonwhites by a smaller margin, and urban migrants were above rural migrants. In this case as in the others, the general comparisons by occupation, color and origin conform to expectations, but the comparisons of natives and migrants raise some questions. If it were true (as is quite plausible) that the sample gives extraordinary weight to recent migrants, while old migrants influence the Census totals much more strongly, that pair of facts would account for most of the discrepancies. Indeed, the sample's "recent" migrants do resemble (in most of the respects so far discussed) that portion of the Wilmington population of 1960 which had been living elsewhere in 1955.

The same general impression emerges from the available information on occupational distribution (see appendix tables A-4 and B-1). The total sample includes more persons in highly skilled occupations than does the general Wilmington population, but the sample's migrants are distributed quite similarly to employed Wilmington residents who had lived outside the metropolitan area in 1955. The sample and the Census agree, for example, in identifying over a quarter of all urban migrants to Wilmington as professional or technical workers. Within the sample, migrants from urban areas have a clear occupational advantage; that advantage (according to tabulations not presented here) prevails for both nonwhites and whites. In these respects, the data on education, income and occupation converge.

It should be all the clearer now that we are not dealing with a representative sample of Wilmington's population. Yet there is enough congruence between Census and sample to allow some sorts of cautious inference from the sample to the larger population. One may attach some confidence to the comparisons of blue collar workers with white collar workers, of whites with nonwhites, of natives with migrants, of rural migrants with urban migrants. These comparisons will occupy most of the remainder of this report. The discussion will move from the residential histories of various classes of migrants to the conditions of migration to the problem of assimilation.

RESIDENTIAL HISTORY

As they did in the Census reports on the general population, the two streams of migration to Wilmington show up in a collective portrait of the sample. Migrants from nearby and from the South are more often nonwhite, low in education and occupational skill, rural in origin than are migrants from the North and from a distance.

5/ For purposes of comparison, here are the numbers of persons five and older per household for the categories of the 1960 Wilmington population used earlier:

	In Wilmington in 1955	Elsewhere in Wilmington Area in 1955	In Another Metropolitan Area in 1955	Outside of Any Metropolitan Area in 1955
White	2.7	2.8	2.8	2.8
Nonwhite	3.0	3.4	2.9	4.4

As before, the exclusion of children under five seriously limits the conclusions one can draw from such a comparison: the very large number of young couples among the recent migrants almost surely had more than their share of young children.

6/ Some of the peculiarities may be due to the fact that 30 heads of households, especially professional workers and migrants from urban areas, refused to state their incomes for 1960. The question asked was: "About what was your total family income from all sources in 1960, including wages, interest, dividends, profit from business, net farm income, pensions, etc.? Be sure that you include the income of other members of your family living with you."

Table 6 shows some of the comparisons.

Over half the white collar migrants were born in the Northeast; only a fifth of the blue collar migrants were born there. About 60 percent of the blue collar migrants were born in the South; only 26 percent of the white collar migrants were. The only apparent discrepancy in the pattern results from the fact that the concentration of the relatively small number of foreign-born respondents in blue collar occupations swells the "All Other" birthplaces for that category.

The differences by color are even greater. Almost four-fifths of all the nonwhite migrants in the sample were born in the South, compared to less than a third of the whites. (This statistic could raise the suspicion that the rarity of Negroes in white collar occupations produced by itself the white collar - blue collar differences in region of origin, but such is not the case; the regional differences appear among both whites and nonwhites.) Only a very small proportion of nonwhites were born anywhere else in the North than Pennsylvania. However, a significant number of nonwhite respondents had lived somewhere in the North before coming to Wilmington, and a very large proportion of the nonwhites born in the South had spent some time in cities before moving to Wilmington.

The last observation becomes relevant when we examine the distribution by rural and urban origin. "Rural" respondents are those who reported spending the major part of their first eighteen years in small towns, in the open country and/or on farms, and "urban" are those who spent the major part of that time in cities or suburbs. Table 6 states that a full three-fifths of the rural migrants were born in the South, while just under a third of the urban migrants were born there. The large cluster of urbanites born in Pennsylvania and the even larger cluster or ruralites born in the South outside of Maryland, Delaware or the District of Columbia combine to produce the most striking contrasts between the two distributions.

The "old" migrants (those in Wilmington eight years or more) do not differ so drastically from the "recent" ones (those in Wilmington less than eight years). The main differences are that the recent arrivals were considerably more often natives of distant sections of the South and slightly more often natives of other distant areas. The figures probably reflect, among other things, changes in the recruitment of migrants to Wilmington over a decade or two before 1960 (cf. Table 1). But we cannot rule out the complementary possibility that migrants from nearby states simply tend to remain in Wilmington longer, and thus to weigh more heavily in the "old" category.

These distinctions by region and distance play no part in the later analysis. They matter, however, because they lurk inescapably behind all the comparisons by color, occupation, origin, or length of residence in the city. It will not be practical here to make allowances for region of birth, so we must keep it in mind as an alternative expla-

Table 6: Distribution by Place of Birth of Various Categories of Sample Migrants

Place of Birth	White Collar	Blue Collar	White	Nonwhite	Rural Origin	Urban Origin	In Wilmington: 8+ yrs.	In Wilmington: Under 8 yrs.	Total
	Percent								
Delaware	4.3	5.0	4.2	5.7	5.9	3.4	5.2	4.3	4.7
Maryland, D.C.	5.7	12.5	8.3	12.9	10.8	9.1	11.3	8.6	10.0
Other South	15.7	41.7	15.8	60.0	43.1	19.3	27.8	36.6	32.1
Pennsylvania	28.6	18.3	27.5	12.9	15.7	29.5	24.7	19.4	22.1
Other Northeast	24.3	2.5	14.2	4.3	6.9	14.8	11.3	9.7	10.5
North Central	12.9	4.2	9.2	4.3	4.9	10.2	7.2	7.5	7.4
All Other	8.6	15.8	20.8	0.0	12.7	13.6	12.4	14.0	13.2
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.1	100.0
Number of Migrants	70	120	120	70	102	88	97	93	190

nation of some kinds of group differences.

Place of birth, of course, indicates only very generally the previous residential histories of migrants to Wilmington. Table 7 gets at residential history a little more directly by showing where the four major occupational and color groups lived at various stages in their early lives, as well as in 1950 and in 1955. The accompanying graph translates Table 7 into visual terms. Two sorts of errors probably inflated the number reporting urban or suburban residence at time of birth: individuals giving the location of the hospitals in which they were born, and individuals naming the nearest large town to their birthplaces. Aside from the extraordinary proportion who reported living in cities at birth, each stage of the sample's life saw a larger share in cities than the stage before. On the average, the white collar workers were in cities or suburbs much earlier than the blue collar workers, the nonwhites very slightly earlier than the whites. We may reasonably infer that while the color groups did not differ substantially in urban experience once occupation was taken into account, the white collar workers had a great deal more contact with cities before moving to Wilmington than did their fellow migrants in blue collar occupations. The graph portrays these differences vividly. More than half the sample, on the other hand, were already in cities or suburbs by early adolescence, and very, very few members of any category had always lived in small towns or the country before migrating to Wilmington. The distinction of "urban" from "rural" migrants is therefore far from pure.

One may also approach the residential experience of the sample through the last residence before Wilmington, as Table 8 does. Since the interviewers only traced the residential history in detail back to the end of 1949 (a procedure that still called for the recording of as many as twenty moves), the table simply divides those who migrated before then into those who grew up in rural and urban areas. In those columns, as expected, we find white collar workers and whites coming from urban backgrounds significantly more often than blue collar workers and nonwhites. Of the remainder of the migrants, large metropolitan areas supplied by far the largest part. Nonwhites and white collar workers came disproportionately from large metropolitan areas; this finding confirms the capsule life histories just reviewed.

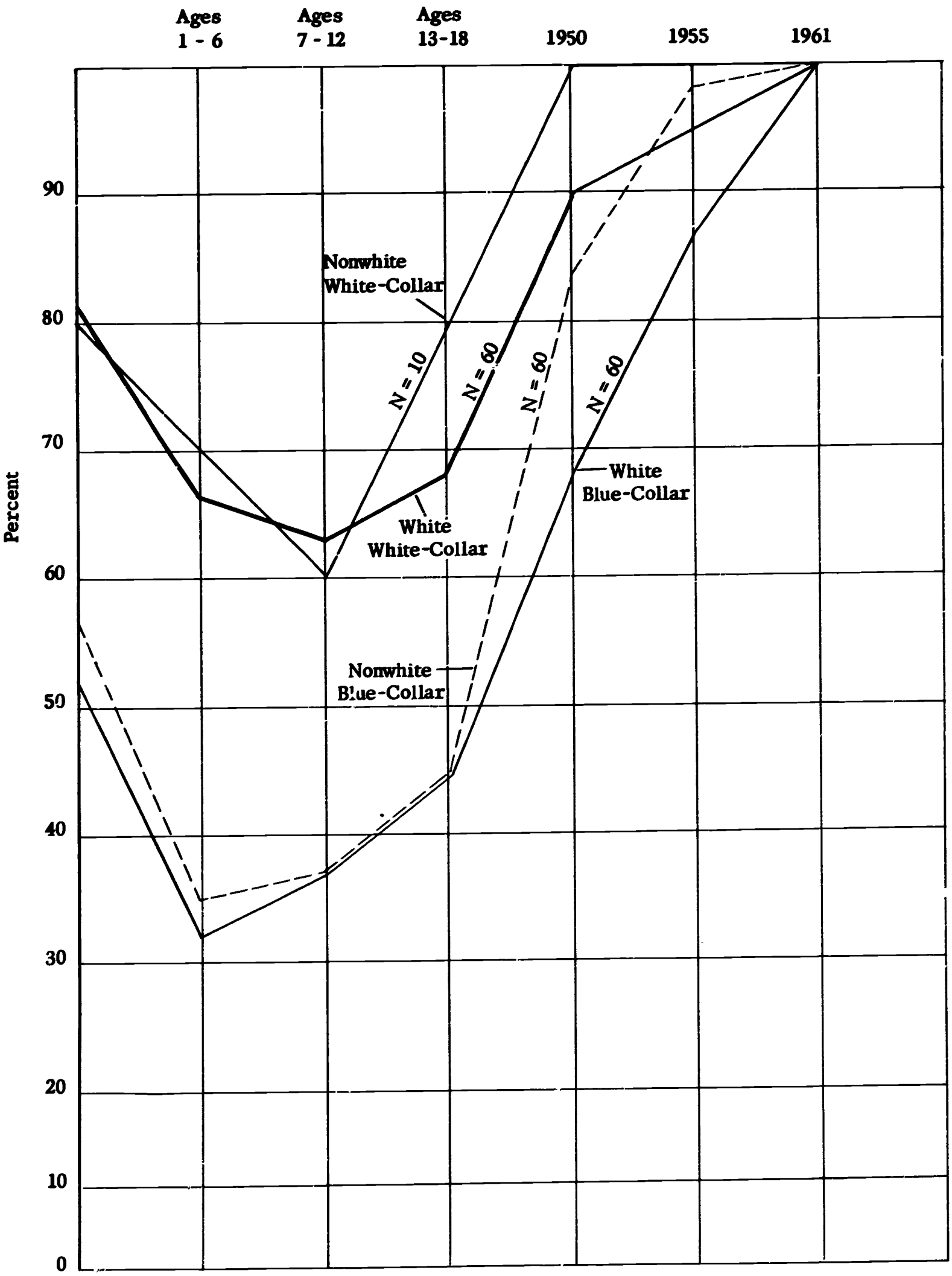
Almost no white collar workers, and few blue collar workers, migrated to Wilmington directly from small towns or open country. By the time the members of the sample were about to come to Wilmington, their previous moves had already brought many of the rural-born to cities, and this attenuated the earlier differences by color and occupational class[7/]. Almost all the migrants brought some urban

Table 7: Percent of Migrants Reporting They Lived in Urban or Suburban Areas at Various Stages in their Lives, by Color and Occupational Class.

Period	White Collar		Blue Collar		Total
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	
	Percent				
Birth	81.7	80.0	51.7	56.7	64.2
Ages 1 - 6	66.7	70.0	31.7	35.0	45.8
Ages 7 - 12	63.3	60.0	36.7	36.7	46.3
Ages 13 - 18	68.3	80.0	43.3	43.3	53.2
In 1950	90.0	100.0	68.3	83.3	81.6
In 1955	95.0	100.0	86.7	98.3	93.7
Number of Cases	60	10	60	60	190

7/ This does not mean that in all respects the rural-born were more mobile than the rest of the sample. Tabulations not shown here reveal that the urban-born, the white collar, and the white respondents made more major moves (for example, from state to state) before coming to Wilmington than did the rural-born, the blue collar and the nonwhite. But the latter categories made more minor moves (for example, from house to house in the same town). Some of the residues of the minor moves appear in appendix table C-1; even though the various categories of migrants all averaged about the same length of time in the city, the white collar and urban households had been in their current dwellings substantially longer than the others.

Percent of Migrants Reporting Living in Urban or Suburban Areas at Various Stages of Their Lives by Color and Occupational Class



experience with them.

CONDITIONS OF MIGRATION

Even if they warn against any absolute and artificial distinction of "urban" from "rural" migrants, the data on residential history confirm that the higher the rank of the migrant, the more urban experience he is likely to have had. Differences by occupation far outweigh differences by color, so much so that further comparisons in this report will neglect the color line. The gross difference in urban experience by rank, on the other hand, makes it all the more interesting to make comparisons in terms of rank and urbanity of origin simultaneously, in order to determine whether the setting of the migrant's youth makes much difference in itself.

Let us recall the guiding hypotheses. Two sets are relevant here: First, general skill in dealing with urban institutions, transfer of status in pervasive formal structures, and transfer of membership in particular associations, all rise with rank and with urbanity of origins, while transfer of membership in ascriptive solidarities declines; and second, at a given rank those who migrate under work-related auspices more frequently transfer general skill, pervasive statuses, membership in associations, and less frequently transfer membership in ascriptive solidarities, than others at the same rank. Since this report is a general introduction to the Wilmington study, we shall not follow out all the implications of these complex hypotheses, and we shall examine some findings not strictly relevant to them. On the whole, the hypotheses concerning rank will survive the test and those concerning urbanity will call for qualification, while the independent effects of auspices will remain uncertain.

How do rank and urban experience affect the conditions of migration to Wilmington? The most obvious question is why people come to the city at all, and the most obvious way of answering it is to examine their stated personal motives for coming. The interviewers in Wilmington asked the heads of households about each place they had lived between the end of 1949 and the move into their current dwelling: "Why did you move from that place?" Table 9 presents the answers given for the first move to Wilmington.

As is usually the case, the great majority of answers had to do with work (cf. Turner 1949). Two-fifths of the respondents said they came looking for work or in response to the offer of a new job, and another quarter said they came because their firms had transferred them. Only 13 percent named "family" reasons (such as getting married or wanting to be near kinfolk), and 20 percent gave other reasons (such as looking for better living conditions). White collar workers explained their coming by a job transfer or by the offer of a new job much more often, and explained it by their looking for work or by circumstances unrelated to work considerably less often than blue collar workers did. Urban migrants more often came in response to a specific job offer than rural migrants did, while almost a third of the blue collar workers from rural backgrounds stated "other" reasons, essentially marking their dissatisfaction with their previous residence (cf. Blumberg 1958, esp. table 7). Otherwise, rural-urban differences

Table 8: Percent Distribution of Last Place of Residence Before Wilmington, by Color and Occupational Class.

Category		Last Residence Before Wilmington: Urban Origin in Wilmington Jan. 1, 1950	Rural Origin in Wilmington Jan. 1, 1950	SMA of 1 Million or more	Other SMA	Other Urban	Outside SMA 1,000 2,499	Outside SMA Under 1,000	Armed Service Outside U.S. & Unspec.	Total	N
White Collar	White	23.3	10.0	25.0	20.0	10.0	3.3	0.0	8.3	99.9	60
	Nonwhite	30.0	30.0	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0	10
Blue Collar	White	11.7	23.3	11.7	16.7	18.3	1.7	8.3	8.3	100.0	60
	Nonwhite	13.3	21.7	38.3	5.0	6.7	6.7	6.7	1.7	100.1	60
Total		16.8	18.9	25.8	13.2	11.1	3.7	4.7	5.8	100.0	190

are not of any great importance. Work mattered to all categories of migrants, but specific job opportunities more often played a part in the coming of the white collar workers, and perhaps of the urban migrants as well.

Work bulks so large in these replies, and the group differences in other respects remain so small, that the findings may raise some doubts about the regularity of the relationships among rank, urban experience and auspices of migration sketched earlier in this report. In fact, stated motives for migration do not indicate the auspices very directly, since the auspices are (by definition) the most important social structures linking the migrant with his destination. An individual may very well seek work in a new labor market via friends, and thus enter that labor market under the auspices of friendship. Nevertheless, we might expect to find some relationship between auspices and stated motives; the weakness and irregularity of the differences in Table 9 makes it all the more important to scrutinize the evidence on auspices to be presented later.

Table 9: Reasons Given for Migration to Wilmington, by Origin and Occupational Class, for Persons Coming after 1949.

	Reasons						
Categories	Job Transfer	Changing Firm Establishing Business	Looking for Work	Family Reasons	Other	Total	N
	Percent						
White Collar Urban Origin	31.0	27.6	17.2	13.8	10.3	99.9	29
White Collar Rural Origin	50.0	12.5	18.8	6.2	12.5	100.0	16
Blue Collar Urban Origin	25.9	3.7	37.0	18.5	14.8	99.9	27
Blue Collar Rural Origin	14.0	0.0	42.0	12.0	32.0	100.0	50
Total	25.4	9.0	32.0	13.1	20.5	100.0	122

Chi-Square Analysis

Groups Compared	Item	Degrees of Freedom	Chi-Square	P
White Collar/Blue Collar	Job transfer	1	4.767	.05
White Collar/Blue Collar	Change firm	1	12.714	.001
White Collar/Blue Collar	Look for Work	1	5.607	.02
White Collar/Blue Collar	Family	1	.607	.50
White Collar/Blue Collar	Other	1	3.112	.10
Urban/Rural	Job transfer	1	.898	.40
Urban/Rural	Change firm	1	4.792	.05
Urban/Rural	ook for work	1	.875	.40
Urban/Rural	Family	1	1.346	.25
Urban/Rural	Other	1	1.507	.25

Occupational mobility brings up some related questions. How many of the respondents went through a major change in their occupational lives at migration? We already know how many simply transferred within an organization, for, significantly enough, everyone who was transferred gave that fact as his principal reason for coming to Wilmington. Presumably all of these people took up work quite similar to the work they left behind; certainly none of them made a major change in occupational category. Many other migrants did.

According to data not presented here, migrants from rural origins change jobs more often than migrants from urban origins, and blue collar workers do so much more often than white collar workers. Do the changes in type of job at migration follow the same pattern? Table 10 contains some relevant information. It states the proportions making major changes in class of occupation at the move to Wilmington. Just about a third of the migrants made such a change. According to finer breakdowns of the responses than appear in the table, another 22 percent transferred within an organization, and 2 percent were out of the labor force both before and after migration, leaving 43 percent who changed organization and place, but not general class of job. There were no significant overall differences between white collar and blue collar workers, or between urban and rural migrants, in the proportion making a major change. The curiously low rate of change among rural blue collar migrants registers two facts: only two members of this category reported working on farms just before coming to Wilmington; and the great majority of these migrants were already either in semi-skilled factory work or in unskilled jobs before migration, and remained in the same kind of occupation afterward. It appears that few of them were making the major occupational changes of their lives on coming to Wilmington. Such an interpretation also fits the available information on the previous residential histories of the migrants. By the same token, however, it weakens the value of comparisons between the "rural" and "urban" migrants of this sample as a means of judging the consequences of migration from rural areas to cities. Our "rural" migrants are only rural at a distance. Where we do find significant differences between them and the urbanites, therefore, we are probably dealing with enduring effects of the migrant's total exposure to city life.

Let us turn from urban exposure in general to contact with the city of destination in particular. All other things being equal, the shock of migration ought to be least for those who have had the greatest previous association with the new city. The scheme of analysis suggests that high-ranking and urban groups, having wider ranges of social relations, and being more directly involved in structures based in cities, would be more likely than low-ranking and rural groups to have had some previous contact with any randomly chosen urban destination. However, since destinations are not chosen randomly, this very general proposition hardly yields any precise predictions about differences among the subgroups of the Wilmington sample.

Table 10: Percent of Migrants Who Made a Major Change in Class of Job When They Moved To Wilmington, by Origin and Occupational Class.

Occupational Class	Origin			
	Urban	Rural	Total	N
White Collar	28.6	45.8	34.8	66
Blue Collar	38.7	25.5	30.8	78
Total	32.9	32.4	32.6	
N	73	71		144

NOTES: Neither urban/rural nor white collar/blue collar differences deviate significantly from chance. A "Major change" is a movement from any one to any other of the following categories: 1) professional and technical workers, 2) managers and proprietors, except retail, 3) retail managers and proprietors, 4) sales workers, 5) clerical workers, 6) craftsmen and foremen, 7) operatives, 8) service workers, 9) private household workers, 10) nonfarm labor, 11) farm labor, 12) not working for more than a year, 13) armed service, 14) school. 46 migrants have been omitted, mainly because they migrated to Wilmington before 1950, the opening year for occupational histories.

The hypothetical differences in auspices of migration would most likely produce a greater concentration of previous contacts with the city in ascriptive solidarities among rural and low-ranking migrants, and in work among the others.

Table 11 replies. About a quarter of the respondents had never been in Wilmington before migrating there. Almost a third had visited friends or relatives in the city. Just under a quarter had made their only trips in preparation

Table 11: Reasons Given for Trips to Wilmington Prior to Migration, by Origin and Occupational Class.

Reasons Given	White Collar Urban Origin	White Collar Rural Origin	Blue Collar Urban Origin	Blue Collar Rural Origin	Total
	Percent				
No Previous Trips	10.9	12.5	38.1	34.6	26.8
Preparation for the Move	30.4	37.5	14.3	19.2	23.2
Visiting Friends or Relatives	30.4	25.0	31.0	34.6	31.6
In Connection With Work	21.7	16.7	4.8	6.4	11.1
Other	6.5	8.3	11.9	5.1	7.4
Total	99.9	100.0	100.1	99.9	100.1
N	46	24	42	78	190

Chi-Square Analysis

Groups Compared	Item	Degrees of Freedom	Chi-Square	P
White Collar/Blue Collar	Number of Previous Trips Trips	3	22.204	.001
White Collar/Blue Collar	Preparation for Move[a]	1	.888	.40
White Collar/Blue Collar	Visiting Friends, Relatives[a]	1	7.463	.01
White Collar/Blue Collar	Work[a]	1	3.610	.10
Rural/Urban	Number of Previous Trips	3	5.567	.15
Rural/Urban	Preparation for Move[a]	1	.003	.95
Rural/Urban	Visiting Friends, Relatives[a]	1	.053	.80
Rural/Urban	Work[a]	1	1.597	.25

[a] Test for those having made trips prior to migration.

for the move itself, about a tenth had been in Wilmington in connection with their work, and a small number had come for a miscellany of other reasons (tourism, shopping, military service, and so on).

There are some interesting differences within the sample, even though none of the rural-urban differences is large enough to deserve much confidence. White collar individuals had decidedly more often made trips to Wilmington before migrating than blue collar individuals had. Among those who had made trips, the white collar migrants had more often made them in preparation for the move or as part of their work. (Other tabulations, as one might expect, show that many more of the white collar individuals had been in Wilmington at some time within two months before migrating.) The blue collar migrants had much more often been in Wilmington to visit friends or relatives. These distinctions come somewhat closer to the auspices of migration than the stated motives for migrating do; the findings suggest that the structures establishing relationships between lower ranking migrants and the city tended to be ascriptive solidarities, while structures built around work played a significantly larger part in the relations to the city of higher ranking migrants. That much follows the earlier analysis. But the differences between migrants of rural and urban backgrounds are, once again trivial.

In a related attempt to get at previous contact with the city, the interviewers asked the heads of households "Before you came here, would you say that you knew Wilmington very well, fairly well, somewhat, hardly knew it, or knew nothing about it?" Forty-five percent (including some who had been to the city before that time) replied that they knew nothing about Wilmington before migrating. Table 12 gives that statistic. Only 26 percent claimed to have known the city very well or fairly well. Rural-reared respondents more often reported complete ignorance of the city prior to migration, but the difference is once more rather small, too small for statistical significance. Blue collar migrants pleaded ignorance much more often than their white collar brethren. These findings confirm the existence of two kinds of differences between the occupational classes; in the amount of their contact with the city prior to migration, and in the form of that contact. And they bring up the interesting possibility that there are some kinds of contact which leave the individual with no useful information about the city as a whole.

The questionnaire also included a series of inquiries about the migrant's sources of aid or information with respect to jobs, housing, general living conditions and the material problems of moving. The replies to these inquiries should shed some more light on the auspices of migration. Table 13 summarizes them, presenting the proportions mentioning the various sources of aid in any of these connections, regardless of how many times the source was mentioned.

In Table 13, the agencies and officials appear as a separate category because of the often-discussed possibility that such intermediaries play (or should play) an important part in integrating new arrivals into the life of the city. The "mobility specialists" include employment agencies, real estate agencies, and any others devoted to facilitating the movement of individuals from place to place or position to position. They, too, could seriously influence the initial relationship of migrants to the city.

On the general grounds by now familiar to the reader, one would expect the higher ranking and urban migrants to

Table 12: Percent of Migrants Reporting They "Knew Nothing" about Wilmington before Migration, by Origin and Occupational Class.

	Origin			
Occupational Class	Urban	Rural	Total	N
White Collar	28.3	33.3	30.0	70
Blue Collar	52.4	55.1	54.2	120
Total	39.8	50.0	45.3	
N	88	102		190

Chi-Square Analysis: a) White Collar/Blue Collar, 1 d.f., $X^2 = 10.431$, p .001; b) Urban/Rural, 1 d.f., $X^2 = 1.995$, p .15.

get aid and information from impersonal institutions and from sources directly related to work fairly often, and lower ranking and rural migrants to rely on personal relations. In these very general terms, the numbers in Table 12 are approximately as expected. Relatives gave aid or information more than any other source did, the relatives of blue collar workers especially. The very high proportion of blue collar migrants from rural areas who receive help from relatives fits the general hypothesis, but the small rural-urban difference is actually in the other

Table 13: Sources of Aid or Information at Migration, by Origin and Occupational Class.

Sources Named	White Collar Urban Origin	White Collar Rural Origin	Blue Collar Urban Origin	Blue Collar Rural Origin	Total
	----------Percent----------				
Relatives	26.1	20.8	38.1	51.3	38.4
Friends and Neighbors	34.8	29.2	33.3	34.6	33.7
Social Agencies, Religious or Political Officials	4.3	0.0	11.9	3.8	5.3
Mobility Specialists	26.1	20.8	11.9	14.1	17.4
Employer, Union, Work Associate	21.7	37.5	19.0	14.1	20.0
N	46	24	42	78	190

NOTE: Percentages need not add up to 100, since many persons named more than one source of aid or information.

Chi-Square Analysis

Groups Compared	Item	Degrees of Freedom	Chi-Square	P
White Collar/Blue Collar	Relatives	1	8.438	.01
White Collar/Blue Collar	Friends and Neighbors	1	.001	.95
White Collar/Blue Collar	Agencies and Officials	1	4.885	.05
White Collar/Blue Collar	Mobility Specialists	1	3.692	.05
White Collar/Blue Collar	Work	1	4.276	.05
Rural/Urban	Relatives	1	3.563	.10
Rural/Urban	Friends and Neighbors	1	.002	.95
Rural/Urban	Agencies and Officials	1	1.287	.25
Rural/Urban	Mobility Specialists	1	.437	.50
Rural/Urban	Work	1	.001	.95

direction among the white collar migrants.

About a third of all the migrants got aid or information from friends or neighbors, a proportion which hardly varied from category to category. Other, more detailed, tabulations suggest that friends and neighbors were more important to the highest ranking and lowest ranking groups than to the rest of the migrants. Some other findings (quite consistent with what previous investigators have found) indicate that the high-ranking individuals more frequently drew their friends from among work associates or fellow members of formal organizations. So the apparently invariable proportion of aid from friends and neighbors most likely hides significant variations in the kinds of friends and neighbors giving aid.

Few migrants were helped by agencies or officials, but those few were more often urban in origin than rural, more often blue collar than white collar. Twice as many white collar migrants as blue collar migrants received aid or information from mobility specialists, while the rural-urban differences in this respect were insignificant. And social relations clustering around work were considerably more important to white collar migrants[8/].

All in all, the results confirm the tendencies of high-ranking and urban migrants to get aid from impersonal institutions, especially those related to work, for low-ranking and rural migrants to rely on their established personal relations, especially within ascriptive solidarities. They do not confirm these tendencies resoundingly when it comes to the comparison of rural and urban migrants. The findings therefore strengthen the hypothesis of a difference in auspices of migration according to rank, but leave uncertain the parallel hypothesis of a difference by urbanity of origin.

It may be interesting to examine the responses to a question aimed to get at the principal sources of help or encouragement (as opposed to the simple provision of information) at migration[9/]. Table 14 breaks down the responses. Almost half the sample named no one as a source of direct help or encouragement. Among those named, relatives still lead the list, work-related sources remain important, while friends and neighbors fall behind and agencies, officials and mobility specialists (now grouped under "other") shrivel into insignificance. Apparently friends, neighbors and various sorts of specialists often give information, but rarely lend more solid support to the migrant.

What of group differences? The white collar migrants, as expected, named sources closely related to their work much more often than the blue collar migrants did. Otherwise, there were no significant variations from category to category. A comparison of Table 14 with the previous one brings out one especially interesting discrepancy: the evidence that low-ranking workers more often rely on their kinsmen has almost faded away. Perhaps, as Litwak (1960ab) and Sussman and Burchinal (1962b) have said, mobile middle-class people rely on their kinsmen more often than most commentators have supposed. One might put it this way: the blue collar worker does not actually get much more help from his relatives in times of personal transition than the white collar worker does, but what help he gets comes more nearly exclusively from relatives. The white collar worker has more alternatives. It still adds up to a net difference in the auspices of migration.

An exploration of the kind of aid received from the principal source helps clarify this issue. (The reader might prefer a break-down of kind of aid received according to the source of aid, but with the small numbers involved such a breakdown would mean very little.) Table 15 shows that blue collar migrants more often received material assistance -- the direct provision of financial aid, transportation or housing. In no other respect is the difference large or consistent. Apparently the blue collar migrants frequently have material problems they cannot meet with their own resources (and this is especially true of the blue collar migrants from rural backgrounds). But the various classes of migrants seem to differ much less in terms of the problems they face than in the means they employ and the kinds of help they seek in solving them.

Taken as a whole, the data on the conditions of migration support the idea of a gross difference between high-ranking and low-ranking groups in the auspices of migra-

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8/ Caution: The questions were apparently ill-phrased in this respect, since a number of individuals who were transferring within a firm did not name the employer as a source of aid or information. If all of those individuals had mentioned the employer, the white collar - blue collar difference would have been even greater. When the individual types of information (jobs, housing and living conditions) are analysed separately, the general pattern persists, but rural and urban migrants turn out to differ significantly in sources of general information about living conditions, with the rurals more often relying on friends, relatives and neighbors, while white collar and blue collar migrants differ most sharply in sources of information concerning jobs.

9/ The question was one of the series already analyzed in table 13, so these findings are not independent of the ones just discussed. In this case, however, there is only one principal source of aid for each migrant, with the first one named being chosen arbitrarily in the two cases in which the migrant actually named more than one source.

tion, even if the same data leave the hypothesis of a difference according to the urbanity of the migrant group's origin quite uncertain. Perhaps urbanity only matters among low-ranking migrants, since high rank assures access to the urban communication system regardless of the physical location of its possessor; certainly the rural-urban differences in this sample are more often in the expected direction among blue collar workers than among white collar workers. Moreover, chain migration -- the continuous recruitment of migrants from a single distant locality via an informal chain of communication -- seems to prevail in Wilmington among unskilled workers from rural origins. If so, ascriptive solidarities weigh especially heavily among the auspices of migration of that group.

Formal structures, especially those built around work, do in any case seem to play a very large part in the initial contact of high-ranking migrants with the city, while less formal structures, especially ascriptive solidarities, do seem to be more important in the migration of low-ranking groups. Correspondingly, the high-ranking migrants take more extensive preparations for migration, accumulate more general information about their destinations, and get assistance from a wider variety of specialists. Such differences in the form of the migrant's initial relationship

Table 14: Principal Sources of Help or Encouragement at Migration, by Origin and Occupational Class.

Sources	White Collar Urban Origin	White Collar Rural Origin	Blue Collar Urban Origin	Blue Collar Rural Origin	Total
	----------Percent----------				
None	43.5	45.8	50.0	48.7	47.4
Relative	26.1	12.5	21.4	29.5	24.7
Friend or Neighbor	8.7	4.2	11.9	9.0	8.9
Employer, Union Work Associate	21.7	37.5	9.5	12.8	17.4
Other	0.0	0.0	7.1	0.0	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0
N	46	24	42	78	190

Chi-Square Analysis

Groups Compared	Item	Degrees of Freedom	Chi-Square	P
White Collar/Blue Collar	Relative	1	.963	.30
White Collar/Blue Collar	Friend or Neighbor	1	.571	.50
White Collar/Blue Collar	Work-related	1	8.302	.01
Rural/Urban	Relative	1	.008	.90
Rural/Urban	Friend or Neighbor	1	.326	.50
Rural/Urban	Work-related	1	.114	.80

to the city surely affect his subsequent involvement in the city's life.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRATING GROUPS

We already know a good deal about the general characteristics of migrants to Wilmington. Some information about the characteristics of the migrating groups represented in the sample will bring together that general knowledge and what we have learned about the conditions of migration.

The design of the sample, as we have seen, led to an emphasis on people in their thirties, married and living with their families, perhaps slightly higher in average occupation or education than migrants as a whole. The selection of heads of households meant that there were few female respondents. These restrictions on the sample naturally affect the characteristics of the migrating groups not only as they were at the time of the interview, but also as they had been at the move to Wilmington.

Let us consider the size and composition of the mi-

Table 15: Type of Aid Received from Principal Source, for Those Who Reported Receiving Help or Encouragement at Migration. by Origin and Occupational Class.

Type of Aid	White Collar Urban Origin	White Collar Rural Origin	Blue Collar Urban Origin	Blue Collar Rural Origin	Total
	----------	Percent	----------		
Material Assistance	3.8	0.0	14.3	27.5	15.0
Help in Finding a Job	50.0	84.6	57.1	42.5	53.0
General Encouragement	42.3	15.4	28.6	27.5	30.0
Other	3.8	0.0	0.0	2.5	2.0
Total	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
N	26	13	21	40	100

Chi-Square Analysis

Groups Compared	Item	Degrees of Freedom	Chi-Square	P
White Collar/Blue Collar	Material assistance	1	9.436	.01
White Collar/Blue Collar	Finding a job	1	1.352	.25
White Collar/Blue Collar	General encouragement	1	.338	.50
Rural/Urban	Material assistance	1	2.047	.20
Rural/Urban	Finding a job	1	.056	.80
Rural/Urban	General encouragement	1	1.274	.25

grating group. Table 16 presents the median number of persons migrating together, by occupation and origin[10/]. The average group included three persons. Migrants from rural backgrounds came in larger groups than those from urban backgrounds, and white collar workers in larger groups than blue collar workers. (These findings are quite unlike those for present size of household reported in table 4.) Table 17, which treats the composition of the group, indicates that the categories with large average size of migrating units were those in which primary families most often came together. About a quarter of the heads of households came alone and unmarried. Very few of those who were already married migrated alone. A full 60 percent of the sample came with their primary families and no one else, while 9 percent (slightly more among blue collar migrants) came with other sorts of companions. Lone individuals and nonfamily groups were more common among migrants from urban backgrounds, and very slightly more common among blue collar workers.

Since the definition of "migrating together" used in these tabulations may hide some of the disruption in family life occasioned by migration, let us look at the period for which primary families were kept apart by the move. Table 18 gives some relevant information. It shows that about 72 percent of the families involved either came together or were separated for less than a month; but 17 percent were apart for more than two months, a goodly break in the continuity of family life. The long lags before reforming the primary family were much more common among blue collar workers, a bit more common among rural migrants: only 61 percent of the blue collar families from rural backgrounds came together or reformed immediately. (More detailed analyses show that this is particularly true of nonwhite families; color, occupation and rurality all compound each other.) This group had the most uncertain attachments to the local markets in housing and jobs. It was the one most inclined, by all appearances, to chain migration. Its members most frequently began their stays in the city by lodging temporarily with kinfolk or friends while exploring for housing and employment. One might say that the low-ranking migrants, and those from rural backgrounds, often endured a genuine disruption of their workday lives at migration, but often compensated for it by maintaining their ties to relatives and old friends.

ASSIMILATION IN WILMINGTON

On the way from a general discussion of migration to a specific discussion of the characteristics of migrating groups, we have passed many signs of substantial transfers of skill, status and membership at migration. Some of them pointed to differences in the amount and kind of transfer according to the previous experience of the migrants with cities; many of them identified important differences according to the migrants' rank. But they agreed in pushing us on to the consideration of the kind of transfer, rather than to the assumption that migration disrupts so much that we ought to think of its aftermath as a total reorganization of daily life. To be sure, an individual could

Table 16: Median Numbers of Persons in Migrating Groups, by Origin and Occupational Class.[a]

Occupational Class	Urban	Rural	Total	N
	----------Number----------			
White Collar	2.4	3.9	3.1	70
Blue Collar	2.5	2.8	2.7	120
Total	2.5	3.0	2.8	
N	88	102		190

[a] This tabulation includes members of the household joining the head in Wilmington within three months of his migration; using the number of persons actually traveling with the head produces an identical pattern with values uniformly about 0.8 lower.

10/ In this case, "migrating together" actually means together or within three months of each other, in order not to let minor leads and lags confuse the identification of the group to be assimilated. In fact, defining "together" more strictly does not appreciably affect the pattern although it reduces the average size of the group, and increases the proportion of heads of households traveling alone.

transfer a great deal of experience and still suffer severe disorganization of his personal life as a consequence of mobility; assimilation and fluctuations in personal well-being are not necessarily parallel. The information gathered in the present study sheds only an indirect light on psychic adjustment. If the problem is the acquisition of skills, memberships and statuses relevant to life in the community -- that is, assimilation -- then transfer really matters[11/]. We can begin to understand how it matters by examining how changes in behavior after arrival in the new community vary from one group to another, and from one sphere of participation in the city's life to another.

The question of change in behavior brings up a critical problem of methodology. Analysts of assimilation ordinarily search for systematic changes in migrating groups after arrival in the receiving community by studying those groups at varying intervals from the time of arrival. They almost always do this through the comparison of a cross section of the population described at a single point in time, rather than following the evolution of groups or individuals over an extended period. The present study deals with such a cross section. What the designers of the study did not realize at first is that any cross-sectional comparison of respondents varying by length of residence in the city has some subtle and important effects that can seriously confuse an investigator's conclusions about changes over time.

The usual classification of individuals in terms of how long they have been in the receiving community required the assumption that, once major differences in status are taken into account, comparisons of persons living in the community less than a year with those living there from one to two years, of persons living there one to two years with those living there from two to three years, and so on, reveal the typical changes in the behavior of migrants as they stay on in the community. The assumption faces two major difficulties: many people migrate more than once; and how old a person is at migration makes a great deal of difference in his behavior after migration.

Table 17: Composition of Migrating Group, by Origin and Occupational Class.

Occupational Class	Unmarried Individual	Married Head of Household Alone	Primary[a] Family Only	Other	Total	N
	----------Percent----------					
White-Collar, Urban Origin	34.8	4.3	56.5	4.4	100.0	46
White-Collar, Rural Origin	12.5	0.0	83.3	4.2	100.0	24
Blue-Collar, Urban Origin	30.9	7.1	50.0	12.0	100.0	42
Blue-Collar, Rural Origin	21.8	5.1	61.5	11.6	100.0	78
Total	25.8	4.7	60.5	9.0	100.0	190

[a] "Primary Family" includes head of household plus spouse and/or children.

11/ If this discussion seems to insist upon the obvious, it is because the usual implicit model of assimilation is one of the diffusion of two fluids in contact: going from a maximum of separation to a maximum of interpenetration, proceeding uniformly and irreversibly through time so long as mutual exposure continues, depending heavily on the relative volume of the two fluids (I owe this apt analogy to James Beshers). Such a model leaves little room for multiple channels of assimilation, for variable effects of status, personal characteristics or prior experience on the pace or direction of assimilation, for social structures intervening between the migrant and the major institutions of the community.

The facts that many people migrate more than once, and that they differ in significant ways from those who only move once, mean that some important kinds of migrants are seriously underrepresented in the categories of long-time residents. In many communities, comparisons between newcomers and oldtimers are essentially comparisons between mobile and immobile individuals. Mobile and immobile individuals differ vastly from each other in many other respects. So the assumption that the newcomers within any particular category become "just like" the oldtimers, given a long enough period of residence, hardly stands up. Without some such assumption, one cannot infer very much about change in behavior after migration from the analysis of a cross section of the population.

The age at migration needs attention here because any breaking down of a population by length of residence simultaneously sorts the population to some extent by age at the beginning of that residence; the more homogeneous the present age of the population, the more decided the sorting by age at migration. To state these effects in their extreme forms: a) practically everyone in a community thirty-five years or more was under thirty years old when he came; and b) in a population of migrants all of whom are now forty, everyone in the community less than fifteen years was over twenty-five years old when he came. Like mobility, age at migration makes a difference. The older the migrant to any particular city, the more likely he is to have already made some other moves, to have accumulated experience with both cities and mobility. The older he is, the more likely he is to have already been married. And Dorothy Thomas (1959) has shown the great differences between "experienced" and "inexperienced" migrants. Surely the migrants who made their first move relatively late in life are an even more select group.

It is hard to imagine that any cross-sectional comparisons by length of residence that students of assimilation have made have been free of these taints (cf. Gulick and Bowerman, 1961, tables A-1 to A-6). The present study compounds the effects of age at migration by intentionally using a sample fairly homogeneous in age at the time of the interview. Appendix table C-2 shows the result: although the median age at migration is essentially the same for the various categories of occupation and origin, the "old" migrants (those in Wilmington nine years or more) were, on the average, seven years younger at the time of their move to Wilmington than were the "recent" migrants. And in fact a number of the present characteristics of members of the sample vary considerably with age at migration. So any inferences from comparisons within a sample of this sort about changes in behavior with increasing time in the city must be tempered by allowances for lasting differences in the very character of old and recent migrants. Later reports of this research will explore the correlates of varying age at migration and lifetime mobility. In order to avoid great complexities and to keep the data roughly comparable to previous studies of assimilation, the present report will offer findings in the traditional form, with no more than the usual controls. But the warning is there: the study of change via cross-sectional comparisons is risk itself.

The introductory discussion stated two sets of guiding hypotheses for this part of the analysis. First, in impersonal spheres of behavior:

> There are greater changes in behavior after migration, a longer period of change, and lower average levels of skill a) among rural migrants than among urban migrants, b) among low-ranking groups than

Table 18: Lag in Re-forming Primary Family by Origin and Occupational Class.

Occupational Class	Percent of Married Migrants Whose Entire Family: Migrated Together or Re-formed the same Month	Re-formed During the Following Two Months	Did No Re-form Until Later	Total	N
	----------Percent----------				
White Collar, Urban Origin	86.7	6.7	6.7	100.1	30
White Collar, Rural Origin	80.0	20.0	0.0	100.0	20
Blue Collar, Urban Origin	71.4	7.1	21.4	99.9	28
Blue Collar, Rural Origin	61.0	13.6	25.4	100.0	59
Total	71.5	11.7	16.8	100.0	137

among high-ranking groups, c) among migrants under nonwork auspices than among migrants under the auspices of work.

Second, in relatively personal spheres of behavior:

a) The higher the rank, the more urban the origin, and the more closely related to work the auspices of migration of a group to the city, the more rapidly the group will establish new friendships and neighborly relationships.

b) The lower the rank, the more rural the origin, and the more closely related to ascriptive solidarities the auspices of migration, the more rapidly the group will establish active relationships within ascriptive solidarities, and the larger the share of all their personal relationships that will be concentrated in ascriptive solidarities.

By and large, the findings confirm the logic of these hypotheses. There are, however, some important qualifications. Once again, rank seems to be much more important than urbanity. Once again, the information on the effects of the auspices of migration is indirect. In addition, the exact connection of the measures of assimilation to the general hypotheses is open to some debate.

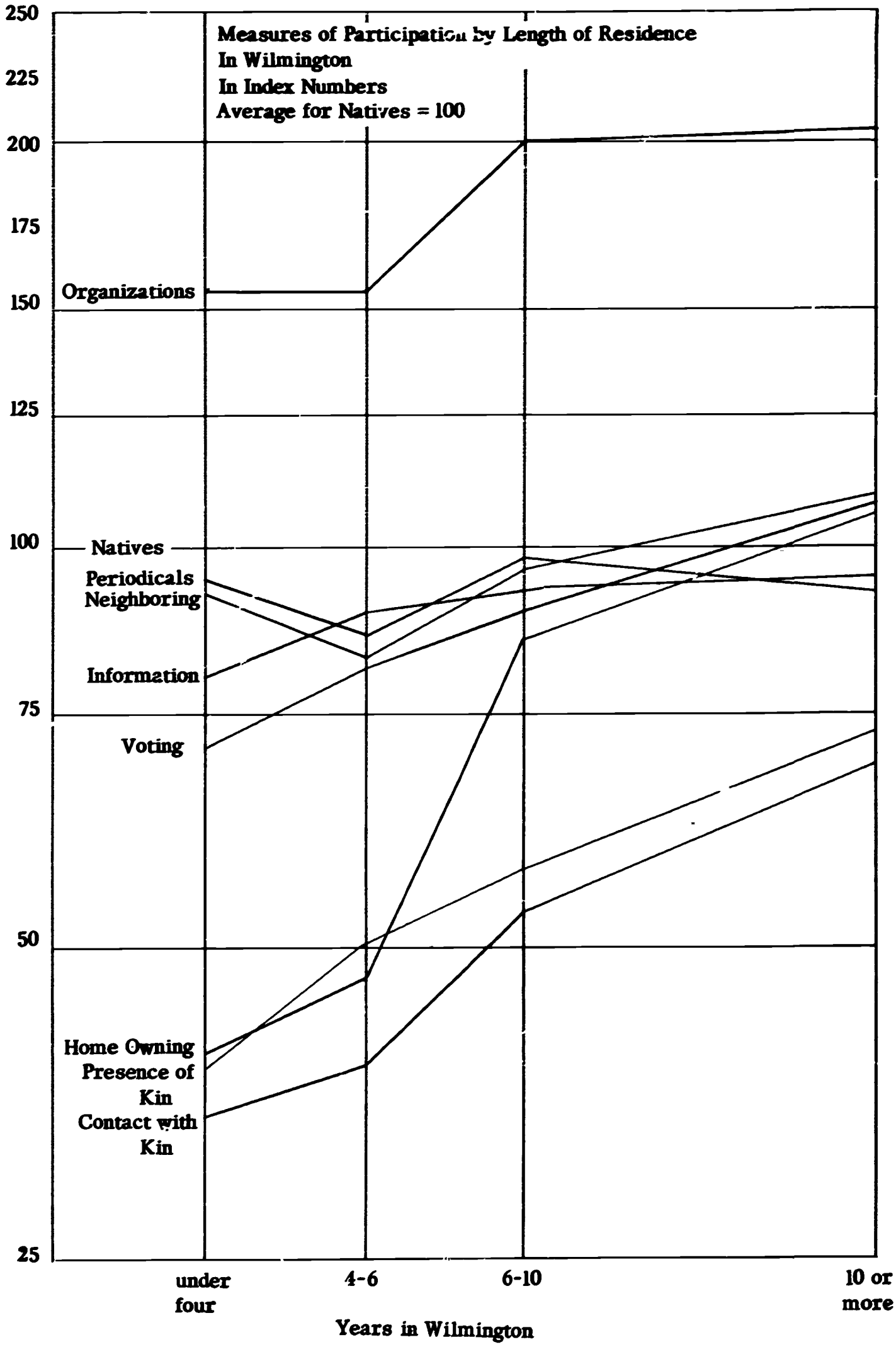
The data to follow include measures of a variety of forms of participation in the life of the city, selected according to the following preferences: 1) they had some prima facie connection with a major arena of participation in the city's life; 2) previous studies had shown them to vary significantly from one element of the urban population to another; 3) they were in principle variable over time; and, 4) they ranged from formal to informal and from general to particular types of participation. The number of periodicals received per month gives one idea of the exposure of the household to mass communications. Voting in the last election is a sign of political participation. The organizational participation score, which awards 1 point for membership, 2 points for attendance, 3 for monetary contribution, 4 for committee membership and 5 for holding office in each voluntary association, is like many widely used measures of formal participation. Information level on city affairs, measured here by the number of bits of information the interviewer had to supply about two major public issues in the city before the respondent himself added some significant information, and thus gave an "informed" response -- the fewer the bits, the higher the score -- gets at awareness of the city's public life. Home ownership ought to reflect, among other things, attachment to the particular locality. The neighboring score (compounded from knowledge of neighbors' names, reported visits to their homes, and varieties of contact with them) approaches the informal side of local participation. And the two indexes of involvement with kin -- the presence of any kin at all in the city, and the frequency of visits with them -- measure a set of social relations whose importance American urban sociologists are again beginning to recognize after long years of forgetfulness.

So far, most of our comparisons have dealt with migrants alone. It is time to bring back the natives: those respondents who had lived in Wilmington since before their thirteenth birthdays. They are of particular interest because they are, almost by definition, the least mobile segment of the sample, and because so many students of assimilation have used their performance as the standard for evaluating the performances of migrants. Table 19 compares the natives with the migrants, themselves divided into four categories by length of residence in the city[12/]. The accompanying graph simply converts the same figures into index numbers and into semi-logarithmic form, using the natives as the basis for comparison.

What should we expect to find? To the extent that these measures represent enduring forms of participation in urban life, they should rise with increasing exposure to the city. No doubt this rise should be most pronounced, and the superiority of the natives the greatest, for measures of involvement in the particular city, rather than those which could be seriously affected by previous urban exposure.

What do we find? In almost every case there is a perceptible rise in participation with increasing length of residence. In every case but participation in formal organizations, the natives score higher than the recent arrivals, while in most respects the migrants in the city ten years or more have come to look quite like the natives. But the curves are neither parallel nor perfectly regular. The newest and oldest migrants do differ remarkably with respect to home ownership, contact with kin and voting, which I suppose one might argue ex post facto reflect involvement in the particular community, home ownership and contact with kin for obvious reasons, voting because other forms of local involvement affect it so profoundly (see Greer 1962, chapters 4 and 5). The fact that voting, home ownership and contact with kin are also the respects in which the migrants most clearly become more like the natives with increasing time in the city supports such an interpretation. If so, the argument would lead to the

12/ Here the unconventional sample design shows up to advantage, since it makes the five categories fairly similar in age, position in household, color, and occupational class; variation in any of these respects is therefore unlikely to account for differences among the five categories.


Measures of Participation by Length of Residence
In Wilmington
In Index Numbers
Average for Natives = 100
250
225
200
175
150
125
100
75
50
25
Organizations
Natives
Periodicals
Neighboring
Information
Voting
Home Owning
Presence of Kin
Contact with Kin
under four
4-6
6-10
10 or more
Years in Wilmington

intriguing conclusion that neighboring and organizational participation do not reveal attachment to a particular locality so much as the adoption of a general way of life (cf. Bell and Boat 1957, Fava 1956, Greer 1956, and the somewhat contrary view of Sharp 1954). Neighboring and organizational participation, in any case, follow irregular paths to a net rise from newcomers to old-timers. The number of periodicals received hardly varies at all, and the level of information (by the relatively undemanding measure used here) apparently reaches its plateau quite rapidly. One might argue, likewise ex post facto, that these performances are so strongly affected by the total urban experience of the individual and by his education that involvement in any particular city does not influence them very much.

Organizational participation stands out from all the other performances and, in striking contrast to the findings of Sharp (1954) and Zimmer (1955), places the migrants at all stages far above the natives. The long-term residents do participate more actively than the recent arrivals, but one could hardly call the curve a steady progression with increasing years in the city (cf. Rubin n.d., Litwak 1961: esp. 270).

If we assume that the comparison of migrants in the city varying lengths of time does reveal the typical changes in behavior of migrants, we may interpret these data to mean that over time the average new arrival in the city comes to participate more and more actively in its life in a wide variety of ways. In the long run, he becomes quite similar to the city's natives. He assimilates, or the city assimilates him. The different forms of assimilation, however, do not form an unbreakable bloc. For the average migrant, it appears that behavior involving attachment to the particular locality changes much more than behavior involving attachment to urban life in general. The grave doubts we encountered earlier concerning this sort of inference about change from a cross-sectional comparison limit, of course, the firmness of any of these conclusions.

GROUP DIFFERENCES IN ASSIMILATION

The observations on the sample as a whole, in any case, do not answer our questions about variations in the pattern of assimilation among different migrating groups. The next series of tables takes each of the measures of assimilation individually, and simultaneously compares

Table 19: Various Characteristics of Heads of Household by Years in Wilmington

Items	Years in Wilmington: Under 4	4 - 6	6 - 10	10 or More	Natives	Total
	Number					
Median Number of Periodicals Received Per Month	43.3	40.5	46.6	44.3	48.0	44.5
Percent Voting in Last Election	59.5	66.7	73.1	88.2	83.3	76.6
Median Organizational Participation Score	10.0	10.0	13.0	13.2	6.5	11.0
Mean Information Level for City Affairs	6.8	7.5	7.8	8.1	8.6	7.9
Percent Owning or Buying a Home	24.3	28.0	50.0	61.8	59.3	49.6
Median Neighboring Score	9.5	8.5	10.0	11.2	10.5	10.3
Percent Reporting Any Kin in Wilmington	37.8	48.0	53.8	69.7	96.3	65.2
Percent Averaging One or More Visits	29.7	32.0	42.3	55.3	79.6	51.6
Number of Cases	37	25	52	76	54	244

recent and old migrants, natives and urban or rural migrants, white collar and blue collar workers. The sharp-eyed reader has no doubt noticed that this classification does not allow any direct test of the earlier speculations about the effects of various auspices of migration; making such allowances here would introduce complications too great for this report. As for rank and urban experience, the earlier discussion encourages the following expectations: a) participation in impersonal spheres will be greater for white collar workers and for migrants from urban backgrounds; b) changes in participation in impersonal spheres will be greater among blue collar workers and migrants from rural backgrounds; c) white collar workers and urban migrants will have more frequent casual personal contacts (represented here by neighboring) and will change less in this respect; and d) contact with ascriptive solidarities (here represented by kinfold) will play a larger part in the total participation of rural migrants and blue collar workers, and that rural migrants and blue collar workers will change less in these respects. Since reflection on the early results of the present study helped produce these statements, I do not dare to call them "predictions." They do, at least, seem to conform to both the logic of the formulation employed so far and to the findings logic of the formulation employed so far and to the findings themselves.

As before, the tables move from relatively impersonal types of participation in urban life to relatively personal ones. Table 20 treats the number of periodicals received per month. Within each category, we still find the old migrants slightly higher than the recent migrants, even if the totals for the rural migrants record a tiny difference in the other direction; the overall difference is not nearly large enough for statistical significance. Natives do receive more periodicals than migrants, and urban migrants more than rural ones, but these net differences are entirely the product of variations within the blue collar category. White collar migrants receive distinctly more publications than white collar natives, and white collar rural migrants actually slightly more than white collar urban. The only really large and consistent differences are between white collar and blue collar workers. As in the earlier analysis of the conditions of migration, the data reveal clear differences according to rank, but no more than hints of the influence of rural or urban experience.

A high proportion of all categories of the sample, as Table 21 indicates, claimed to have voted in the 1960 election; the proportion was generally higher for natives than for migrants, higher for old migrants than for recent arrivals, higher for urban than for rural, higher for white collar than for blue collar. The only remarkable discrepancy was among the blue collar urban migrants, a comparison the considerable number of active, factory-employed, union members among the recent migrants may well have affected. More decidedly than in the case of periodicals received, the rural blue collar migrants (who, according to the general hypothesis, have the greatest transition to make with regard to impersonal forms of participation) apparently changed most with increasing years in the city. Once again, the contrast of rural and urban is too small to attract statistical attention, while the others stand up to conventional tests of significance.

Except for the consistent superiority of migrants over natives, the arrangement of organizational participation scores resembles the array of values for voting (see Table 22). To be sure, the rural - urban differences are stronger and more consistent, the old - recent differences less so. But again we encounter the distinctly greater par-

Table 20: Median Number of Periodicals Received Per Month

	Native	Urban Old	Urban Recent	Rural Old	Rural Recent	Total Urban	Total Rural	Entire Sample	N	Comparison	X^2	d.f.	Sign. Level
	---------- Number ----------									Native/ Urban/ Rural			
White Collar	49.7	70.5	62.2	70.5	67.2	64.3	67.5	63.5	94		1.07	2	.50
Blue Collar	43.0	39.9	38.6	37.3	34.1	39.1	36.2	38.1	150	White Collar/ Blue Collar	21.20	1	.001
Total	47.7	48.6	43.6	39.9	40.5	46.1	40.5	44.4		Old/Recent	0.44	1	.50
N	54	46	42	51	51	88	102		244				

ticipation of white collar workers, the somewhat greater participation of old residents and of urban migrants, the concentration of apparent change with length of residence in the rural blue collar category. This more detailed breakdown (again, contrary to Sharp's and to Zimmer's findings) shows that the net rise in the sample's organizational participation with increasing time in the city is entirely the result of changes within the blue collar category.

Let us consider the information level for city affairs, as displayed in Table 23. It would surely have been better to have devised a more rigorous test of knowledge of the city, since no category averaged less than 6.5 out of a possible 10; the ease of getting the maximum score must have concealed some genuine differences in knowledge, and it may well have flattened the curve of information level by years in the city. Nevertheless, the pattern of differences is quite like that for organizational participation. Mean information level is higher for old than for recent migrants, for urban than for rural migrants (although there is no real rural-urban difference within the blue collar category), and, especially, higher for white collar than for blue collar workers. Unlike the case of organizational participation, natives score significantly higher on information than migrants do. As before, the greatest apparent changes with increasing time in the city occur among rural blue collar migrants.

Information level, organizational participation, voting and receipt of periodicals all represent relatively impersonal forms of assimilation to the life of the city. Of them, the analysis of the curves by length of residence in the city suggested, paradoxically, that only voting varied closely with attachment to the life of the particular city rather than to urban life in general. The next measure, home ownership, surely has something to do both with more personal forms of assimilation and with attachment to a particular locality. Almost exactly half the members of the sample owned their dwellings or were buying them. The range went from less than a quarter among the rural blue collar migrants up to more than four-fifths among the old rural white collar migrants. The natives were distinctly more often owners than the migrants were, the urban migrants more often than the rural. As might be

Table 21: Percent Voting in Last Election

	Urban		Rural		Total	Total	Entire				Sign.
Native	Old	Recent	Old	Recent	Urban	Rural	Sample	Comparison	X^2	d.f.	Level
				Number							
White Collar	95.8	91.7	92.3	72.7	80.4	83.3	85.1	Native/ Urban/ Rural	1.90	2	.40
Blue Collar	73.3	68.2	75.0	86.8	55.0	71.4	70.5	71.3	White Collar/ Blue Collar	5.38	1	.05
Total	83.3	80.4	71.4	88.2	58.8	76.1	73.6	76.6	Old/Recent	9.05	1	.01

NOTE: N's for Tables 21 - 27 are the same as in Table 20.

Table 22: Median Organizational Participation Score

	Urban		Rural		Total	Total	Entire				Sign.
Native	Old	Recent	Old	Recent	Urban	Rural	Sample	Comparison	X^2	d.f.	Level
				Number							
White Collar	15.5	25.5	24.3	13.0	33.0	25.2	18.0	21.4	Native/ Urban/ Rural	16.69	4	.01
Blue Collar	5.8	10.5	8.5	8.5	6.2	10.3	6.4	6.5	White Collar/ Blue Collar	45.90	2	.001
Total	6.5	15.5	14.7	9.8	8.5	16.3	9.0	10.9	Old/Recent	3.74	2	.20

expected from the differences in incomes, the white collar workers much more often owned their homes than did the blue collar workers. (Otherwise, the group differences do not correspond at all closely to differences in income.) As the summary curve showed, the old migrants owned more often than the recent ones; in all cases, the proportions for the old migrants were similar to those for the natives.

This time, the rural blue collar migrants do not experience the greatest apparent changes with increasing years in the city. The personal relations of this group of migrants seem to change less than do those of other groups, while their participation in more impersonal urban activities changes more.

Let us see whether neighboring, as recorded in Table 25, undergoes the same changes. I have already suggested that neighboring indicates the assumption of an urban style of life more than an attachment to a particular locality. Perhaps the considerably higher neighboring scores of white collar workers, the slight tendency of urban migrants

Table 23: Mean Information Level for City Affairs

	Native	Urban Old	Urban Recent	Rural Old	Rural Recent	Total Urban	Total Rural	Entire Sample	Comparison	X^2	d.f.	Sign. Level
	----------	----------	----------	Numbers	----------	----------	----------	----------				
White Collar	9.2	9.2	9.0	9.1	8.4	9.1	8.8	9.0	Native/ Urban/ Rural	9.47	4	.05
Blue Collar	8.1	7.0	6.8	7.4	6.5	6.9	7.0	7.2	White Collar/ Blue Collar	40.75	2	.001
Total	8.6	8.2	7.9	7.8	6.9	8.1	7.4	7.9	Old/Recent	3.17	2	.20

Table 24: Percent Owning or Buying Home

	Native	Urban Old	Urban Recent	Rural Old	Rural Recent	Total Urban	Total Rural	Entire Sample	Comparison	X^2	d.f.	Sign. Level
	----------	----------	----------	Numbers	----------	----------	----------	----------				
White Collar	75.0	75.0	59.1	84.6	36.4	67.4	62.5	68.1	Native/ Urban/ Rural	6.47	2	.05
Blue Collar	46.7	54.5	25.0	43.9	23.2	40.5	33.3	38.0	White Collar/ Blue Collar	19.74	1	.001
Total	59.3	65.2	42.9	54.3	26.0	54.6	40.2	49.6	Old/Recent	12.31	1	.001

Table 25: Median Neighboring Score

	Native	Urban Old	Urban Recent	Rural Old	Rural Recent	Total Urban	Total Rural	Entire Sample	Comparison	X^2	d.f.	Sign. Level
	----------	----------	----------	Numbers	----------	----------	----------	----------				
White Collar	11.3	12.2	10.4	11.0	11.5	11.6	11.3	11.5	Native/Urban Rural	1.32	2	.60
Blue Collar	8.0	11.0	7.1	9.9	7.5	7.4	9.0	8.4	White Collar/ Blue Collar	11.78	1	.001
Total	10.5	11.8	9.6	10.0	8.5	10.7	9.6	10.3	Old/Recent	3.13	1	.10

to neighbor more frequently, and the lack of superiority of the natives in this respect strengthen the suggestion. As for apparent idfferences with time in city, they are greater for the blue collar workers and, unexpectedly, for the urban migrants. In short, home ownership and neighboring correspond to each other only superficially. To be frank, the general analysis of assimilation proposed here, as usefully as it seems to bring together the information on other forms of participation, does not account for the results concerning neighboring very well (cf. Sharp 1954: 134-135).

It does a good deal better with involvement in kin groups. Tables 26 and 27 present the proportions of households having any kinfolk at all in the Wilmington area at the time of the interview, and the proportions visiting kinfolk in the area once a week or more. For the first time in this series of comparisons, the contrasts by origin and length of residence in the city are distinctly more important than the contrasts between the occupational classes. Blue collar workers more frequently have kinfolk in the area, and see kinfolk more frequently, the differences are consistent, but they are only large among recent migrants. Combined with what else we know about their social relations, this probably means that a much larger share of the total informal contacts of blue collar workers are with kinfolk than is the case among white collar workers. A huge majority of the natives keep up regular contacts with their kinfolk, and the proportion is slightly greater for rural migrants than for urban. As expected, white collar workers and urban migrants apparently change more with increasing years of residence in the city. The rural blue collar migrants show the least apparent change.

Even more so than in the previous comparisons, however, reflection on the nature of this inference brings up some alternative interpretations that have very little to do with change in individual behavior. Maybe white collar and urban migrants who have kin in the city are simply more likely to stay there for a long time. Maybe in all the categories represented in this sample the multiple moves of a generation of kinsmen first disperse them and then tend to bring them back together, but the regrouping occurs earlier among rural and blue collar migrants. The weakness of the cross-sectional comparison is precisely that it cannot rule out these reasonable alternatives.

If the differences between recent and old migrants really do represent changes in behavior, then they fit rather neatly with the information presented earlier concerning

Table 26: Percent Reporting Any Kin in Wilmington

	Urban			Rural		Total	Total	Entire				Sign.
	Native	Old	Recent	Old	Recent	Urban	Rural	Sample	Comparison	X^2	d.f.	Level
	---Numbers---											
White Collar	91.7	62.5	27.2	61.5	27.3	45.7	45.8	57.4	Native/Urban Rural	33.48	2	.001
Blue Collar	100.0	72.7	45.0	68.4	60.0	59.5	64.1	70.0	White Collar/ Blue Collar	3.48	1	.10
Total	96.2	67.4	35.7	66.7	52.9	52.3	59.8	65.2	Old/Recent	8.35	1	.01

Table 27: Percent Reporting One or More Visits per Week With Kin in Wilmington

	Urban			Rural		Total	Total	Entire				Sign.
	Native	Old	Recent	Old	Recent	Urban	Rural	Sample	Comparison	X^2	d.f.	Level
	---Numbers---											
White Collar	79.2	58.3	18.2	38.5	18.2	39.1	29.2	46.8	Native/Urban Rural	21.94	2	.001
Blue Collar	80.0	54.5	35.0	55.3	45.0	45.2	48.7	54.0	White Collar/ Blue Collar	1.13	1	.30
Total	79.6	56.5	26.2	51.0	39.2	42.0	44.1	51.2	Old/Recent	7.13	1	.01

the auspices of migration. We find the very groups that relied most heavily on kinfolk at migration most involved with kinfolk during their early years in the city, and changing least over the years. At the same time, we find them changing significantly with respect to formal participation in the life of the city. The converse is true of those groups that most frequently migrated under impersonal auspices. There is apparently a real difference in the transfer of skill, status, and membership at migration, and it apparently makes a real difference in subsequent assimilation to the life of the city.

Of course, I do not wish to claim that the results are perfectly consistent, or that they "verify" a scheme that was, after all, elaborated in the light of some of the early findings of this very study. But the results are consistent enough to challenge any conception of assimilation as a single, uniform process, and to argue the importance of the connection between the rank and prior urban experience of the migrant, the initial form of his attachment to the city, and the subsequent changes in his participation in the city's life.

RECAPITULATION AND CONCLUSION

What have we learned? This report began with a general model for the analysis of migration and assimilation to cities. Building on fairly well established correlates of rank and urban experience, the model suggested some important variations in the usual auspices of migration from one group to another. In particular, it led to the conclusion that the higher the rank and the greater the urban experience of the group in question, the more prominent are complex formal structures (especially those related to work) among its auspices of migration. These considerations led to the further conclusion that rank, urbanity and auspices of migration all affect the extent and kind of transfer of experience, status, and membership a migrating group makes from sending to receiving community. The contrast between the urbane professional who cuts many personal ties at migration, but brings with him an ample fund of experience and a well-established public position, on the one hand, and the former farmhand who takes on unfamiliar work in a strange city with the help of kinsmen and friends already established in the city, on the other, epitomizes the extreme forms of these effects. According to the model, these varying kinds of transfer deeply affect the subsequent assimilation of migrants into the life of the city. Perhaps the simplest way to summarize this quite complex phenomenon is to say that each group changes most and longest where it transfers least.

On the whole, the data from the study of Wilmington fit this general formulation.

The presentation of data began with the general character of migration to Wilmington. Census information and the examination of the sample showed the persistent importance of widespread migration to the population of Wilmington and of Delaware. They also revealed the significance of two streams of migration to the area: one from the South, with a fairly high proportion of Negroes, of individuals from farms and villages, of people with little education; and the other from the North, predominantly white, largely urban in origin, averaging fairly high in income, occupation, and education. But there were three important qualifications: these were average differences, not absolute ones; even in the southern stream, almost all the migrants had spent some time in other cities before coming to Wilmington; and once differences in occupational distribution were taken into account, the white-nonwhite differences in pattern of migration were not very great.

That led to the analysis of the conditions of migration. The predominant auspices of migration did seem to vary with occupation and urbanity as expected. Most strikingly, high-ranking and urban-reared migrants came to Wilmington under thea
to Wilmington under the auspices of work more often than others, while kinfolk and friends played a much larger part in the migration of low-ranking and rural-reared persons. Furthermore, the high-ranking and the urban migrants came, on the average, with better information, more advance preparation and less break in family life. However, in all these comparisons the differences by urbanity were much weaker than the differences by rank. Indeed, one might interpret the findings to mean that rural or urban origin only made a difference among low-ranking migrants.

The final section dealt with assimilation. A wide variety of indicators of participation in the life of the city showed an apparent rise with increasing time in Wilmington. Their patterns diverged enough, however, to justify a conception of several somewhat independent processes of assimilation into different aspects of the city's life, rather than a single process of total assimilation.

The closer analysis of group differences indirectly confirmed the influence of variations in the conditions of migration on subsequent assimilation; it directly confirmed the importance of rank and urbanity of origin. Not only were there important differences by rank in every type of participation investigated, but also high-ranking and urban migrants tended to change more and over a longer period with respect to personal forms of participation (at least as represented by home ownership and contact with kin), while low-ranking and rural migrants tended to change more and over a longer period with respect to impersonal participation (as exemplified by voting, activity in voluntary associations, or general level of information concerning the city). Again the rural-urban differences were weaker and less consistent than those by rank.

Some of the qualifications were as interesting as the findings themselves. First, we encountered some reasons

for hesitating to infer changes in behavior after migration from cross-sectional comparisons of individuals in the city varying lengths of time. Second, the data on different forms of assimilation suggested that natives of the community are only appropriate models of "fully assimilated" individuals where attachment to the particular locality, rather than involvement in urban life in general, is the crucial question. Finally, the same data suggested that attachment to the particular locality strongly affects some types of formal participation (such as voting), while total exposure to urban life strongly affects some types of informal participation (such as neighboring).

The most persistent theme in all the findings was the great importance of work--work as a means of classifying different kinds of people, work as a reason for mobility or stability. Let us glance at one further illustration of this point. The interviewers asked respondents where they expected to be living five years later. The white collar workers named some definite place outside the Wilmington area more often than the blue collar workers did, and the white collar workers were more often certain about where they would be (whether it was Wilmington or elsewhere) in five years. Commonly established in careers entailing progressions of moves from job to job and place to place, the white collar workers were often attuned to mobility, even committed to it, and had some confidence where it would take them. When asked a similar question about the kind of job they expected to have in five years, the higher ranking workers consistently showed greater assurance that they would still be in the same type of work, if not in the same place or organization. Work gave a kind of continuity to their lives that it could not offer to those with less skill and less control over the circumstances that determine men to move or not to move.

Perhaps we have the right to generalize this observation. Work seems to have played a larger part in organizing the mobility of the higher ranking migrants. It more often provided the auspices of their migration. It apparently gave them highly transferable skills and statuses. It encouraged them to think of mobility as a perfectly normal part of a lifetime, and to develop techniques for reducing its stress and strain. To state the matter in the abstract language with which this essay began: the impersonality of the auspices of migration rises with the rank of the migrant, as does the transfer of skill, status and membership in the impersonal aspects of the city's structures and, consequently, the ease and rapidity of assimilation to those parts of the city's life.

The general line of reasoning that produced these ideas about the effects of rank also suggested that previous experience with cities would have similar, if weaker, effects. Those effects have not appeared consistently. It is true that the blue collar migrants from rural backgrounds quite often came to Wilmington under the auspices of ascriptive solidarities, that they had an exceptional amount of contact with their kinfolk in the years after migration, that they apparently changed more in regard to formal participation in the city as time went on than did the other major classes of migrants. The data therefore lend themselves to several rather different interpretations: 1) the extent of urban residence only makes an important difference in the process of assimilation at lower levels of rank, because high rank exposes its occupant to urban ways of life wherever his residence may happen to be; 2) urban experience does affect the pattern of migration and assimilation, but the classification of migrants according to where they spent their youth allows intervening contact with cities to obscure the genuine contrast of rural and urban patterns; or 3) the extent of the individual's urban experience does not in itself influence his mode of migration and assimilation. In order to choose among these alternatives, we need a much more careful attempt to isolate the effects of cumulative urban experience than has been possible here. So the indeterminate findings have at least the considerable virtue of pointing the way to some new and interesting investigations.

The new investigations could profitably emphasize history: personal history, group history, history of the receiving units. The present account has been weakest where it confronted questions of change, process, cumulative effects, temporal context. Indeed, we have encountered grave reasons for doubting whether the sort of cross-sectional comparison so commonly employed for the purpose can yield reliable information about changes in behavior with increasing time in the city. Further research on processes of mobility must develop adequate means for isolating and tracing genuine changes.

There is another important problem which this report leaves accented but unresolved: the place of intermediaries. Relying for information on interviews with individual migrants almost inevitably reduces the intermediaries to means in the accomplishment of the migrant's own ends. But (as a little reflection on the information concerning the auspices of migration suggests) a whole series of intermediaries play parts in the migrant's initial communication with the city, in his recruitment, in his move to the city, in his subsequent assimilation. How are they organized? How specialized in mediating are they? How do they fit into the life of the city?

Actually, a greater unresolved question includes all the rest. What is the structure of the community to which migration and assimilation are occurring? A satisfying theory of migration and assimilation demands an adequate model of community structure. Without such a model there can be no convincing measurement of assimilation, no meaningful delineation of the arenas in which assimilation takes place, no valid analysis of mediation between the migrant and the city, no clear understanding of what it means

to say that opportunities draw migrants to the city. This report has not, of course, produced that hoped-for model of community structure. But it has shown that the study of migration raises the essential questions about the form such a model should take.

APPENDICES

A. Data from the 1960 Census of Population

B. Comparisons of the Sample with the 1960 Census

C. Supplementary Tables on the Wilmington Sample

Table A-1 Age Distribution of 1960 Wilmington Population Five Years of Age and Older by Sex, Color, and Residence in 1955

Age Group	Total Population	In Wilmington in 1955	Elsewhere in Wilmington Area in 1955	In Another Metropolitan Area in 1955	Outside of Any Metropolitan Area in 1955
		1. White Male			
5-9	8.1	8.0	8.2	8.5	9.4
10-14	9.5	9.3	12.7	9.8	9.6
15-19	7.8	7.8	9.5	5.9	9.6
20-24	6.7	6.1	9.8	8.7	18.8
25-29	5.8	5.3	6.5	12.3	12.2
30-34	4.8	4.2	10.3	11.3	8.6
35-44	14.3	14.2	14.7	16.8	14.1
45-54	15.7	16.2	12.5	11.9	10.4
55-64	13.4	14.1	9.7	8.2	4.5
65+	13.9	14.8	6.1	6.6	2.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	30,648	27,531	1,127	1,231	759
		2. Nonwhite Male			
5-9	15.3	15.0	22.5	11.6	18.6
10-14	10.2	10.2	14.1	10.4	6.6
15-19	6.5	6.5	4.4	5.9	11.0
20-24	6.5	6.0	16.8	5.5	8.3
25-29	7.4	6.8	5.9	15.6	13.3
30-34	8.9	8.8	7.4	12.8	8.3
35-44	15.5	15.3	13.8	19.2	17.9
45-54	14.0	14.5	8.4	11.2	10.6
55-65	10.2	11.1	6.7	2.3	2.7
65+	5.5	5.3	0.0	5.5	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	10,046	8,815	405	525	301
		3. Total Male			
5-9	9.8	9.7	11.9	9.5	12.0
10-14	9.6	9.6	13.0	10.1	8.8
15-19	7.5	7.5	8.2	5.9	10.0
20-24	6.6	6.1	11.7	7.7	15.8
25-29	6.2	5.7	6.3	13.3	12.5
30-34	5.8	5.3	9.6	11.7	8.5
35-44	14.7	14.4	14.5	17.5	15.2
45-54	15.4	15.8	11.4	11.7	10.5
55-64	12.6	13.3	8.9	6.4	4.0
65+	11.8	12.6	4.5	6.2	2.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	40,694	36,346	1,532	1,756	1,060

Table A-1 Age Distribution of 1960 Wilmington Population Five Years of Age and Older by Sex, Color, and Residence in 1955

Age Group	Total Population	In Wilmington in 1955	Elsewhere in Wilmington Area in 1955	In Another Metropolitan Area in 1955	Outside of Any Metropolitan Area in 1955
		4. White Female			
5-9	7.1	6.9	13.6	8.4	6.8
10-14	7.6	7.6	8.7	4.8	8.8
15-19	8.2	7.5	11.0	10.9	23.4
20-24	5.7	4.7	10.3	12.6	19.2
25-29	4.3	3.9	7.4	8.7	6.7
30-34	5.3	5.0	7.6	9.4	4.8
35-44	15.2	15.1	15.7	18.2	12.5
45-54	15.9	16.8	11.1	7.7	6.3
55-64	14.2	15.0	7.8	9.2	6.1
65+	16.5	17.5	6.8	10.1	5.4
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	34,818	31,048	1,321	1,410	1,039
		5. Nonwhite Female			
5-9	14.0	13.9	16.6	10.1	16.2
10-14	9.8	9.6	15.7	11.0	8.5
15-19	7.1	6.7	10.4	8.1	12.1
20-24	7.6	6.9	6.2	10.6	20.9
25-29	9.0	8.4	11.4	12.2	16.2
30-34	8.9	8.4	13.5	14.9	8.4
35-44	15.1	15.5	11.2	15.9	11.1
45-54	12.9	13.9	6.6	8.5	1.9
55-64	9.2	9.8	4.9	6.4	2.8
65+	6.4	6.9	3.5	2.3	1.9
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	11,180	9,783	483	483	431
		6. Total Female			
5-9	8.8	8.6	14.4	8.9	9.6
10-14	8.1	8.1	10.7	6.4	8.7
15-19	8.0	7.3	10.8	10.2	20.1
20-24	6.1	5.2	9.2	12.1	19.7
25-29	5.4	5.0	8.5	9.6	9.5
30-34	6.2	5.8	9.1	10.8	5.8
35-44	15.2	15.2	14.5	17.6	12.1
45-54	15.2	16.1	9.9	7.9	5.0
55-64	13.0	13.7	7.0	8.4	5.2
65+	14.0	15.0	5.9	8.1	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	45,998	40,831	1,804	1,893	1,470

Table A-2 Position in Household of 1960 Residents of Wilmington Five Years of Age and Older, by Color and Residence in 1955 (Percent Distribution)

Position in Household	Total Population	In Wilmington in 1955	Elsewhere in Wilmington Area in 1955	In Another Metropolitan Area in 1955	Outside of Any Metropolitan Area in 1955
			1. White		
Head of Family	28.3	28.9	26.5	22.4	19.6
Primary Individual	8.1	7.9	8.1	9.7	11.1
Wife of Head	22.2	22.6	21.4	20.6	16.6
Child under 18 of Head	19.5	19.4	24.6	16.9	16.4
Other Relative of Head	16.8	17.3	12.0	12.1	14.0
Non-Relative of Head	2.8	2.4	3.1	7.3	9.1
In Group Quarters	2.3	1.5	4.3	11.0	13.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	65,466	58,579	2,448	2,641	1,798
			2. Nonwhite		
Head of Family	25.1	25.1	23.8	29.2	20.8
Primary Individual	7.3	7.8	5.2	4.9	1.5
Wife of Head	16.5	16.1	16.2	20.6	20.2
Child under 18 of Head	24.1	23.7	34.7	21.3	24.7
Other Relative of Head	17.8	17.9	12.3	16.6	25.7
Non-Relative of Head	7.5	7.7	5.8	6.2	5.9
In Group Quarters	1.7	1.7	2.0	1.2	1.2
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	21,226	18,598	888	1,008	732
			3. Total		
Head of Family	27.5	27.9	25.7	24.2	20.0
Primary Individual	7.9	7.9	7.3	8.4	8.3
Wife of Head	20.9	21.0	20.1	20.6	17.6
Child under 18 of Head	20.6	20.5	27.3	18.1	18.8
Other Relative of Head	17.1	17.4	12.1	13.4	17.4
Non-Relative of Head	3.9	3.7	3.8	7.0	8.1
In Group Quarters	2.1	1.6	3.7	8.3	9.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	86,692	77,177	3,336	3,649	2,530

Table A-3 Median School Years Completed by 1960 Residents of Wilmington Twenty-five and Older, by Color and Residence in 1955.

	White	Nonwhite	Total
Total Population	10.3	8.9	9.3
Movers from Elsewhere in Wilmington SMSA	11.6	9.6	11.0
Movers from Other SMSAs	12.3	9.9	12.0
Movers from Non-Metropolitan Areas	11.3	7.6	10.0

Table A-5 Income Distribution and Median Family Income in 1959 of 1960 Residents of Wilmington, by Residence in 1955

Income Category	Total Population	In Wilmington in 1955	Elsewhere in Wilmington Area in 1955	In Another Metropolitan Area in 1955	Outside of Any Metropolitan Area in 1955
	Percent of Total				
Under $2,000	10.1	9.9	7.0	14.7	9.5
$2,000 to $2,999	6.3	6.3	7.6	5.5	6.3
$3,000 to $3,999	10.0	9.6	12.9	11.0	17.8
$4,000 to $4,999	12.1	11.8	15.4	16.5	11.1
$5,000 to $5,999	12.0	12.1	10.1	9.7	12.0
$6,000 to $6,999	10.0	10.1	9.2	9.3	11.0
$7,000 to $7,999	20.1	20.5	17.2	16.2	18.4
$10,000 to $14,999	12.8	12.9	12.8	11.6	12.3
$15,000 and Over	6.6	6.8	7.8	5.5	1.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Persons	74,897	67,369	2,846	2,802	1,880
Median Family Income	$5,975	$6,025	$5,700	$5,225	$5,450

NOTE: These figures apply to persons five years of age or older in 1960 and living in family units; they exclude primary individuals, non-relatives in households and persons in groupquarters.

Table A-4 Occupational Distribution of Employed Men in Wilmington, 1960, by Color and Residence in 1955 (Percent)

Occupational Category	Total Employed Males 14 and Over		Residence in 1955					
			Elsewhere in Wilmington Metropolitan Area in 1955		In Another Metropolitan Area in 1955		Outside of Any Metropolitan Area in 1955	
	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite
Professional, Technical and Kindred Workers	11.3	2.6	13.5	0.0	32.3	7.3	18.9	5.4
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	9.9	1.7	11.8	0.0	10.4	0.0	2.7	0.0
Clerical and Kindred Workers	7.7	3.1	5.3	1.9	8.4	5.7	6.3	0.0
Sales Workers	7.9	1.0	12.4	1.9	8.4	1.0	6.1	3.0
Craftsmen, Foremen and Kindred Workers	21.4	10.7	23.3	14.4	12.3	8.3	17.2	13.9
Operative and Kindred Workers	18.7	21.5	19.9	27.3	14.4	39.8	28.2	21.2
Service Workers	7.6	13.3	5.7	8.6	4.5	8.9	6.1	10.2
Laborers	4.5	23.1	4.0	37.3	4.9	17.8	3.4	36.7
Occupation not Reported	11.0	23.0	4.1	8.6	4.4	11.2	11.1	9.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number	19,188	1,216	679	209	790	314	476	166

Source: Unpublished tabulations of 1960 Census of Population

Table B-1 Occupational Distribution of Employed Persons in Wilmington, 1960, and of Sample Heads of Households, by Origin.

	Percent by Origin				
Occupational Category	Native	Urban	Rural	Sample Total	1960 Wilmington Employed Persons
Professional and Technical Workers	13.0	29.5	18.6	21.3	11.6
Managers and Proprietors	11.1	12.5	2.9	8.2	7.0
Clerical and Sales Workers	16.7	10.2	2.0	8.2	25.4
Craftsmen and Foremen	11.1	18.2	17.6	16.4	13.8
Operatives	14.8	9.1	24.5	16.8	17.8
Service Workers	18.5	9.1	14.7	13.5	17.9
Laborers	11.1	11.4	16.7	13.5	6.5
Housewives	3.7	0.0	2.9	2.0	--
Total	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0
N	54	88	102	244	33,569

NOTE: The occupations assigned to the sample refer to the last full-time job held.

Table B-2 Marital Status of 1960 Wilmington Residents 14 years of Age and Older, by Sex, and of Sample Heads of Households, by Origin and Occupational Class

		Single	Married, Spouse Present	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	Total	N
Sample	White Collar Native	0.0	91.7	0.0	0.0	8.3	100.0	24
	White Collar Urban Origin	0.0	91.3	4.3	0.0	4.3	99.9	46
	White Collar Rural Origin	0.0	91.7	0.0	0.0	8.3	100.0	24
	Blue Collar Native	0.0	83.3	10.0	3.3	3.3	99.9	30
	Blue Collar Urban Origin	0.0	90.5	4.8	2.4	2.4	100.1	42
	Blue Collar Rural Origin	0.0	83.3	9.0	5.1	2.6	100.0	78
	Entire Sample	0.0	87.7	5.7	2.5	4.1	100.0	244
Wilmington 1960	Males 14 and Over	28.3	59.2	4.0	2.7	5.9	100.1	33,387
	Females 14 and Over	24.5	50.8	4.8	3.7	16.1	99.9	38,909
	Total	26.2	54.6	4.5	3.3	11.4	100.0	72,296

Table C-1 Median Years in Present House, by Origin and Occupational Class.

	White Collar	Blue Collar	Total
Native	6.0	2.8	3.8
Urban	4.0	2.3	3.1
Rural	2.8	2.4	2.5
Total	4.0	2.4	2.9

1960 Wilmington Population: 5.0

Table C-2 Median Age of Head of Household at Migration to Wilmington, by Recency of Migration, Origin, and Occupational Class.

	In Wilmington Less Than Eight Years	In Wilmington Eight Years Or More	Total
White Collar, Urban Origin	33.0	26.0	29.5
White Collar, Rural Origin	36.2	20.7	30.5
Blue Collar, Urban Origin	31.5	25.5	29.1
Blue Collar, Rural Origin	32.3	26.5	29.3
Total	32.7	25.5	29.5

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(Note: This list includes only items actually cited in the text, and therefore leaves out a number of important writings concerning migration.)

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